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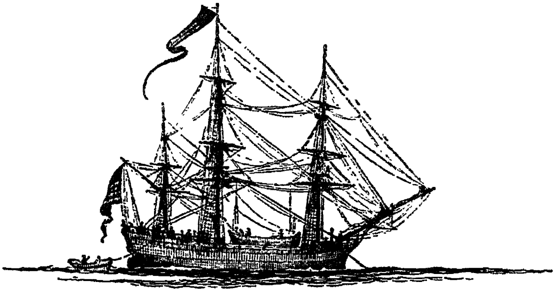
Coastal Exploration
# of Washington

By Robert Ballard Whitebrook



Foreword by Henry R. Wagner

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Coastal Exploration of Washington

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Dedicated to the Officers and Men of
Submarine Chaser U.S.S. P C 601
Aleutians 1943-1944

"No American ever stands very far from the sea. Back of every one of us there is a long ocean voyage. Except for full-blooded Indians, all of us came here by ship. No matter how far inland we may go or how long we may live there, we carry with us a racial memory of the wonder and peril of the empty sea—the feeling that all certitude has been left behind, and that what lies ahead is incredible wonder and the bright chance of a new world. Probably no single thing in the American consciousness lies deeper than this."

—Bruce Catton
American Heritage
Vol. 6 (1955) No. 2

Foreword

For centuries man sought by sea to conquer the world, as he is today conquering it by air. Sails were the wings of yesterday which travelers hoped would carry them through a waterway across the American continent to the western sea (or the Mar del Sur, as it was sometimes called). Men dreamed of a Strait of Anian or a northwest passage which would shorten the long arduous voyage from Europe to the East. And when man dreams long and fervently enough, he seeks to make his dreams become reality.

By the year 1550 the coastline of the east side of America had been fairly well explored from both north and south. It was well established that this mass of land which lay between Europe and Asia was a continent, connected on the south by an isthmus, later to be named Panama. At the north several voyagers had reached Iceland and Greenland and Norsemen had entered what is now known as Hudson's Strait and had even ascended the Red River of the North.

Apparently the only records we have of such expeditions are two stones, one found in the Red River country and the other in Minnesota. These stones—the first dated 892; the second, 1362—are inscribed in runic characters, and were probably left by Norsemen. These men may have entered the region by what is now known as Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay. It is uncertain whether or not they were seeking a northwest passage; they may have been merely on a voyage of exploration.

The Northwest Passage, mythical at its inception and for a long time afterward, was supposed to lie somewhere north of 42° of latitude. It first appeared as the Strait of Anian, close to the mainland of Asia, but it was gradually moved westward until it was placed approximately in the latitude of what is now known as the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The fact that it was purely mythical is shown by its pictured width, which is three or four times wider than the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Juan de la Isla, a pilot in the Spanish service, was a firm believer in the Northwest Passage and attempted unsuccessfully to obtain permission to set out with an expedition from the Philippines to discover it from the west coast. The English took note of the various stories about the elusive strait at the north and began sending out expeditions in 1576, seeking to discover the passage from the east. Both Martin Frobisher (in 1578) and John Davis (in 1587) have been credited with discovering Hudson's Strait, but it was not until 1612 that Hendrik Hudson entered the bay which now bears his name and where he lost his life. He was followed by Baffin and others, all seeking a waterway leading from the bay. Not until a century later did the British seek the passage from the west coast.

In 1745 the English Parliament voted to allot to anyone who discovered the Northwest Passage the sum of twenty thousand pounds. Any of the royal vessels, however, which might discover the passage were barred from receiving this reward. Arthur Dobbs had long held the firm belief that the Northwest Passage existed. He had first been inspired by the weird tale contained in a letter purported to have been written by one Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, concerning his discoveries in the course of a voyage from Callao, Peru, to find out whether there was a passage between the Atlantic Ocean and the South and Tartarian seas. This had been published in England in the *Monthly Miscellany or Memoirs for the Curious* for April and June, 1708. At the end of the letter Fonte says there was no such passage into the South Sea, nothing that could be called a Northwest Passage. But Dobbs seems to have been convinced that a waterway existed. Possibly it was upon his insistence that Captain Christopher Middleton had been sent out on two voyages to find such a passage from Hudson's Bay; but of course he too had been unsuccessful. After the reward was offered other voyages were made to Hudson's Bay, all failing to find the fabled passage.

The English, however, do not easily give up. After Captain James Cook had returned from his second voyage to the South Sea, the Parliament extended the offer of twenty thousand pounds to anyone who might discover the strait from the west, whether a private individual or one in the service of the king. It was no doubt this offer that prompted Cook on his third expedition to seek the Northwest Coast.

The so-called secret instructions issued to Cook on July 6, 1776, ordered him to sail direct from Tahiti to the Northwest Coast in the neighborhood of 45°, without stopping anywhere or attempting any new discoveries, and then to make progress up the coast, being strictly enjoined, however, not to spend any time in exploring inlets or rivers before he reached 65°. From all this it appears that no expectation was entertained of discovering anything south of 65° which would be of any benefit to the British nation. He was not to take possession of any part of the coast where possession had been previously taken by any other power.

Both the Spaniards and the Russians had sailed along the west coast seeking a passage. The Spaniards, who were operating from San Blas on the west coast of Mexico, had sent out numerous expeditions in search of the imaginary waterway. But curious interdiction resulted from the expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino in 1601-02. He reached no farther than Cape Mendocino on the California coast, but on his return he advised the viceroy to have the search carried on for the Northwest Passage. The viceroy, however, stated he did not want to have the Northwest Passage found, if it existed, because the English would come through it and ravish the coast of New Spain. By 1741 the Russians had not only reached as far south as Cook's Inlet, but had gone as far east as Mt. St. Elias. It was probably their steady southeastward progress which prompted the Spaniards to renew their search for the Strait of Anian. After the Spanish occupation of northern California in 1769, they began in 1774 to send out expeditions, and by 1789 they became even more diligent in their search for the waterway.

Cook had sighted the coast on March 7, 1778, but he did not take possession until he reached Cook's Inlet on May 28. On June 1 he reached the end of the inlet and the entrance to what he called Turnagain River. It was here that he landed and took possession and named the point Possession, a name it still bears. The boats explored as far north as 61°30′. Cook sailed north through the present Bering Strait and finally determined that the land on the east side really was America. On October 3 he returned to the old anchorage at Unalaska Island and on October 26 set sail for the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives. The expedition returned to England in September 1780, under the command of Captain James King.

All journals of the expedition up to the arrival at Macao were ordered to be surrendered, but some of the men did not obey the command and kept their own accounts of the voyage. The first such journal of the voyage to be published was an anonymous one which appeared in 1781. It was supposed for a long time to have been written by John Rickman, but many years later Rickman's journal was found in the Admiralty and was entirely different from the one attributed to him. I am certain that this anonymous journal was written by one of the "gentlemen scientists" on the voyage.

In some cases some of the participants afterward wrote accounts of the voyage and published them, apparently without any opposition from the government, although it was generally supposed to be suppressing all publications until the official account could be published. Heinrich Zimmermann, a common sailor on board one of the ships, wrote an account of the voyage which was published in Mannheim, also in 1781. This has been translated by Miss U. Tewsley and was published by the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1926. Another account of the voyage, which is a little masterpiece, is that by John Ledyard, published in Hartford in 1783. The official account finally appeared in 1784, comprising Cook's journal to the day of his death (February 14, 1779) and continued by Captain King in what he called an "Epilogue," a very condensed account of the remainder of the voyage.

There is no doubt that the reports and publications of Cook's voyage were like kindling on the fast-dying embers of the hopes for a Northwest Passage. Not only were there almost incredible stories of Cook's men having traded buttons on the Northwest Coast for furs which later sold in China for huge sums, but it was thought that Cook's Inlet must be the long-sought western entrance to the Northwest Passage. *The Gentleman's Magazine,* published in London in 1790, included a map showing a hypothetical connection between Cook's Inlet and the Mackenzie River which, instead of turning north and flowing into the Arctic, is turned toward the southwest, finally emptying into Cook's Inlet. This map is often attributed to Peter Pond, the great American explorer and fur trader. It was not made by him, however, although it embodies his views. Ships were sent to the Northwest Coast as soon as possible from England and New England, but the Spaniards were closer at hand.

The Strait of Juan de Fuca was known by the Spaniards to be a large body of water, and in 1790 the viceroy sent Manuel Quimper to explore it. Quimper made a rather thorough exploration of the strait and saw the entrance to Puget Sound but did not follow it. He continued to the north, hoping again to discover some strait leading to the Arctic.

Francisco de Eliza followed Quimper the next year and went even farther north than Quimper had gone. Then came Galiano and Valdez, who followed the course of Eliza. While sailing through Rosario Strait, they encountered George Vancouver.

On October 28, 1790, a treaty had been signed between Great Britain and Spain under the terms of which Great Britain was to receive at Nootka restitution of the territories which the Spaniards had seized in 1789. Besides the task of carrying the Nootka treaty into effect, Vancouver was directed "to examine the northwest coast of America from 30° to 60° in order to *facilitate intercourse by water communication* with the opposite side of the continent." He sailed on April 1, 1791, and reached Puget Sound in May 1792. The Indians told Vancouver, as they had told the Spaniards, that it was a closed body of water, but that did not deter him. He explored it thoroughly and named it Puget Sound, the name it still bears.

The meeting between the Spaniards and Vancouver took place on June 24, 1792. Together they sailed around Vancouver Island and then returned to Nootka to put into effect the convention between Great Britain and Spain regarding the occupation of that part of the sound.

Puget Sound is a notable body of water and in time, of course, would have been discovered from the land side, as the fur traders from the east were gradually approaching it. But Vancouver was searching for the Northwest Passage and turned north in search of another passage which would lead to it. He carried on his search in 1793 and 1794. The famous Northwest Passage continued to be vainly sought for many years, both overland and by sea. It was not, however, until Roald Amundsen in 1903-06 made his famous Arctic voyage that it was finally discovered.

This thumbnail sketch of the feverish search for the chimerical waterway across the continent shows only a few of the highlights of exploration on the Northwest Coast. One of the most difficult tasks in the history of exploration is to determine the anchorages and sites described by the early explorers. This is a task that Mr. Whitebrook has undertaken. Even when exact descriptions and locations have been given, the place often cannot be found. I myself have searched for a bottle buried by Manuel Quimper on July 8, 1790, which I am sure could have been found had not a house been built on that exact spot. In many places the terrain has been built up or has eroded, either of which makes identification extremely difficult. We who are interested in the history of exploration on the Northwest Coast must be indebted to Mr. Whitebrook for his competent labor in this work.

HENRY R. WAGNER

San Marino, California
April 1954

Preface

On an April night in 1952 I sat in the small library at Hana, on Maui, reading a copy of *The Voyages to the Pacific Ocean* by Captain James Cook, and noted that Cook had anchored just offshore on November 1778. The following morning, as I walked down to the beach, I realized that the harbor had been the roadstead for vessels of the Royal Navy, and it seemed to me quite probable that some of Cook's sailors had come ashore for water and provisions at this very point. It was true, of course, that here in the islands many of the early explorers and fur traders wintered before sailing to the Northwest Coast. It occurred to me that perhaps I could follow the track of one of these English captains to Northwest waters, and perhaps even into Puget Sound.

Finding that there was an abundance of source material relating to these voyages, some of which I had used before at Stanford, I began my investigations. Soon a whole new world appeared before me, a world made up of vivid, almost contemporary characters. Here was the great era of the fur trade, leading back in one direction to the mighty Russian expeditions of the early 18th century and in another to the Spanish conquistadors. From their journals a fine naval tradition breathed forth, one held in common by Drake and Bering, by Bodega and Vancouver. Here was no dull tale of forgotten seamen but a bright saga of the sea, still meaningful. The threads, I knew, wound far back to Prince Henry the Navigator and Magellan; then beyond them to those ancient mariners of the Mediterranean—the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Phoenicians. Where one man or one nation pursued discoveries, there was always someone else a century or more later to press ever farther on. Holding fast to my original purpose of tracing Vancouver's ships became increasingly more difficult—too many temptations reached out, too many unsolved mysteries of the sea presented themselves. Certainly one leading thread in unraveling this skein of exploration was the long-held hope for a Northwest Passage.

Even with expert assistance from librarians, government agencies, and navigators, I frequently hesitated, wondering if I had erred in a calculation or misinterpreted some important entry in a logbook. It gave me some courage to read Professor Lloyd A. Brown's comment in his *Story of Maps* (Boston, 1950):

> . . . For every page of text, for every map and chart compiled by the pioneers in cartography, a thousand pages of adverse criticism have been written about them by men who were themselves incapable of being wrong because they would never think of exposing themselves to criticism, let alone failure.

I looked for a precedent, a guide in transposing on my modern navigational charts the locations of the anchorages of Spanish and English explorers in Puget Sound and off the Olympic Peninsula. I found none, though a wealth of documents was available. The correlation of all the evidence became my next problem. Soon, to my astonishment, I found that I had more information on the subject than anyone else. This same surprising situation has been recognized by many researchers, but the feeling is most succinctly described by the German tank expert, General Heinz Guderian, who, early in the 1920's, worked out with the assistance of English army manuals a theory of mass movement of armored divisions. In his *Panzer Fuhrer* (New York, 1952) he recalls, "In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Since nobody else busied himself with this material, I was soon by way of being an expert."

While various avenues of Pacific Northwest history turn out to be well-trod paths, that part dealing with the earliest sea voyages still provides unsolved problems and untold tales. After combing original documents, including various journals, charts, and microfilmed logbooks for precise data on locations, soundings, etc., I decided to extend my research into the present by making trips by land, air, and water to those locations where the Spanish and the English either had put men ashore or had anchored their vessels. The weather, fortunately, was almost always clear during these excursions. At Taholah, Moclips, and Jamestown, on the Olympic Peninsula, I obtained valuable information not only by personal reconnaissance but in talks with the Indians. Without these field trips much of the anchorage identification could never have been made. This was especially true at Point Grenville and Cape Elizabeth. Through the courtesy of Mr. John Hill, I was able to make two plane flights over Puget Sound and the San Juan Islands. From this perspective I could look down, in a relatively short space of time, on the same waterways that took Vancouver months of careful navigation to sail through.

The original researches of such scholars as Henry R. Wagner, F. W. Howay, S. E. Morison, and E. S. Meany have unfolded many of the pages of the past. To them, workers such as I cannot express our debt. Without them, studies such as this would be quite impossible.

Several persons of special competence were consulted to whom acknowledgments are due. Corrections for the magnetic variation in Vancouver's compass readings were worked out using a tabulation of mean magnetic declination for the

Puget Sound area since 1792, which was prepared through the courtesy of Robert Knox, Director of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, D.C. Lieutenant Robert Lowman, a member of the Navigational Science Department of the NROTC School at the University of Washington, rendered invaluable aid in the details of charting. Paul Fisher, cartographer of the Seattle Office of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, also gave assistance in charting, particularly on the anchorage positions off Restoration Point.

Microfilm copies of unpublished logs kept by officers and crewmen aboard Vancouver's ships, originals of which are preserved in British depositories, were made available by Ronald Todd, reference librarian of the University of Washington Library. I am grateful too to Willard Ireland, archivist at the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C., for allowing me to use the many documents there, and in particular the typescript log from the *Discovery* kept by John Aisley Browne. My thanks are due also to John W. Todd, Jr., of Shorey's in Seattle, Max Kuner Company of Seattle, and Peter Decker of New York, booksellers, who gave me much assistance in locating many of the journals of voyages to the Pacific Northwest. To Miss Peggy Copeland, the curator of the Seattle Museum of History and Industry, I am also indebted for suggestions. Friends have been of greater moral support than they realize, giving me constant encouragement and listening patiently to my problems and small successes. Among them I must mention Edmund F. Maxwell, Thomas D. Stimson, Hugh E. Pickel, George Leedy, Arthur G. Dunn, George J. Morry, and Victor Denny.

Because of the encouragement of Robert Hitchman of Seattle, the work on the Spanish exploration was done. And to the late Henry R. Wagner, the leading authority on the Spanish in the Northwest, I am deeply indebted—for his generously offered help which has been of inestimable value to me, especially during the week I spent with him at the Huntington Library, and for his permission to quote from his published writings, particularly from his translations of the voyages of those Spanish explorers antedating Vancouver in the Pacific Northwest.

Throughout my work both inspiration and guidance were generously given by Charles M. Gates, professor of history at the University of Washington and editor of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* where my earlier article on Vancouver appeared (July 1953) in substantially the same form as here presented in Chapter VI. Miss Emily Johnson, editorial associate of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* has spent many hours editing this manuscript. Without her efforts and suggestions this book would never have come to print.

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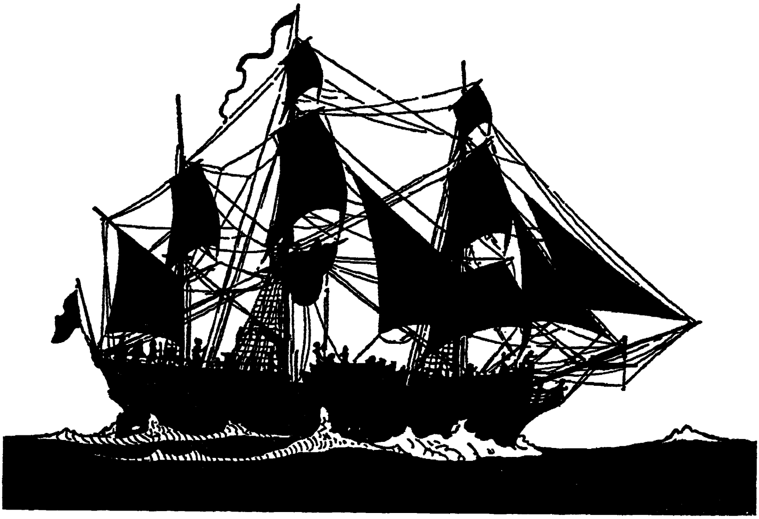

H.M.S. DISCOVERY

I Chronology of Discovery

An account of the early British and Spanish voyages to the Pacific Northwest should be projected against a general background of discovery, particularly as it relates to the Pacific Coast of North America. Such a background should include a brief chronology of the important discoveries and explorations preceding those in the Northwest and a discussion of the gradual progress of science as it applied to these voyages.

Before man could do more than inch his way along a coastline by piloting from one headland to another, he had to have some confidence in his ship and in his method of navigation. He needed, too, an elementary theory of the earth's sphericity. These advances of thought took time to be worked out and even more time to become accepted. The lower the educational level of the era, the longer it took for people to accept new ideas. Mass ignorance results in mass rejection of progress. For example, many people even today believe the earth is flat and rectangular in shape. How, then, could the people of five hundred years ago be expected to think otherwise? To put it in a more imaginative and graphic form—if we were suddenly to stand in the courtyard of a university in Seville in the 14th century, possessed of the knowledge we now have, what could we contribute to the progress of the age? What could we tell the citizens of that day, or even the teachers, that would help them to comprehend the spherical shape of the earth? We would be fortunate to remain alive, let alone be believed. And so it was with the advanced thinkers of the 14th century. The Church held firm control of intellectual thought. Every idea had to square with accepted religious dogma.

But as far back as the third century B.C. scholars had advanced the theory that the earth was round, and calculations were submitted as proof. Eratosthenes, in 276 B.C., had been the first to observe the sphericity of the earth.[1]* He noted that at noon in Alexandria the sun on the day of the summer solstice was not directly overhead and in fact cast a shadow on the sun dial of 7½°. But on the same day it was known that the sun at Aswan, 500 miles up the Nile, was directly overhead and cast no shadow on the sun dial. Eratosthenes then deduced that, if the angular distance between the two cities was 7½°, or 1/50 of 360°, as shown on the sun dial in Alexandria, and the linear distance was 500 miles, then it could be assumed that 50 times 500 miles—that is, 25,000 miles—would be the approximate circumference of the earth. This demonstration was remarkably accurate, considering that he had none of the modern astronomical instruments to assist him in his calculations. In fact, if the earth was a perfect sphere, Eratosthenes would have erred by less than 300 miles. It was not until the English astronomer Sir John Herschel in 1671 made his measurements that the figure of 24,899 miles was arrived at. Thus a span of 1,947 years was to pass between the two calculations.

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*All footnotes will be found at the back of the book starting on page 109.

The Greeks opened the minds of men to speculative thinking in many areas, and their vision of geography was to serve a valuable purpose. Though many of their records have been lost, still they passed on a heritage of emancipated thought. They raised questions which had previously been beyond the realm of man's imagination. If the earth was really large, then only a small fraction of it must be known. Who lived in the rest of it? What waters and lands must be still undiscovered? Being free to imagine, the mind was free to explore. The present corollary to these vast geographic vistas which lay before men in past centuries may be found in speculations regarding outer space.

Many of these speculations of the ancients were compiled in the works of Claudius Ptolemy. In his *Almagest* was incorporated much of the Greek genius for scientific thought. Ptolemy himself made astronomical observations between 127 and 150 A.D., during the reigns of the Roman emperors Hadrian and Antoninus. This magnificent creative flow from free Greek minds was a source of pride to Ptolemy, who wrote: "It is the great and exquisite accomplishment of mathematics to show all these things to the human intelligence."[2]

By the second century after Christ the following contributions to geographic knowledge had been made: (1) instruments had been developed for measuring celestial angles; (2) ideas had been formulated regarding the size and shape of the earth; (3) geometry and spherical trigonometry were in common use; and (4) astronomy and cartography had become known sciences. But with the advent of Christianity came a gradual decline of classical and critical learning. The emphasis was now placed on the "other world," not this one. Significantly enough, human nature being what it is, it was not only that the knowledge of the ancients was lost. It became unpopular. It was no longer fashionable to think with a speculative mind.

This retrogression of intellectual interests lasted for centuries. The Judaeo-Christian philosophy of religion traced civilization—and with it, all learning—back through a long line of Semitic kings from Israel to Babylon. The intellectual treasure of the Graeco-Roman civilization, being pagan, was ignored. Therefore the geographical discoveries mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy gave way to the Judeo-Christian cosmography of the Babylonians. The promises of those giant Greek intellects of astronomy, Hipparchus and Aristarchus, were replaced by a primitive belief in a geocentric universe. The medicine of Aesculapius and Aristotle became debased to an acceptance of the idea that the healing of bodily ailments resulted from the application of the principles of astrology, from charms and superstition. Why attempt to examine the heavens? Had not St. Ambrose said, "to consider the nature and the position of the earth does not help us in our hope of salvation"? In his book *Divine Institutions* Lactantius (*ca.* 260-330 A.D.), had attacked the idea that the earth might be round, as it violated the writings of the Gospel.

The ancient thinkers of Greece had rejected the Babylonian idea of the earth as an island in the center of the universe. But now the Jews pointed to the Old Testament: "I have set her [Jerusalem] in the midst of the nations, and countries are round about her" (Ezekiel 5:5). If Jerusalem was the center of the world, the world was the center of the universe. The direct result of this Jewish influence exerted through early teachings of the Church was to degrade speculative thought. This religious reserve among the Christianized western nations paralyzed thought in the same way that a studied reserve in an individual paralyzes human emotion. It ended, among most other types of imaginative effort, all exploration.

The philosophy of the early Middle Ages, so well exemplified by St. Augustine's Heavenly City, was directed to the contemplation of life after death. All else was temporal and therefore unimportant. Ptolemy, Euclid, Aristotle, and Archimedes were disdained as pagans of antiquity. Such men were dangerous. True, painting and sculpture were fostered and allowed to develop, as were prose and poetry, but only when these could be used to adorn and glorify the purpose of man's existence, eternal life. The great geographic gains of the Greeks and Romans were laid aside. With them, like Ozymandias, "Nothing beside remains. Round the decay of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare, The lone and level sands stretch far away."

All past secular progress was, of course, overshadowed by a greater occurrence. Especially was this true in the first centuries of Christianity, when attention was focused upon the second coming of Christ. What else could be important for scholars to contemplate? Perhaps there is nothing which paralyzes interest in the past like the belief in an imminent cataclysm. We can visualize this well today. Let us say we now were to come to the not improbable conclusion that our cities were to be destroyed in a nuclear fission war and that this event was proved by our scientists as likely to occur within the year. What interest could academicians have in historical research? What inspirations would not die at birth? What purpose would it serve to pursue the arts? Peoples' minds would be concentrated on the impending destruction, as they were on salvation in our early Christian era. And yet our cities today will become our tombs in any event. In the span of but one hundred years in normal times our nation will be repeopled by our children's children. There is no escape for us, war or no, and still we try and continue to progress. We may well be curious to know the reason. Like other animals we cannot change our basic emotional patterns. We are driven by fundamental passions stronger than our wills.[3]

Thus, I think, did the men of the Dark Ages gradually react to the dogmatic belief in an inevitable damnation or salvation. The dormant drive for freedom of thought could not forever be repressed. Like ancient Rome, the Church was not omnipotent.

The pagans of the north, unconquered by the power of either, plundered and explored at will. From 800 to 1000 A.D. the Vikings struck out across the northern coasts. An awareness of new lands in northwest Europe filtered down through trading routes. The Scandinavian corsairs had sighted Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland, and even other lands to the west of these. Reports of their discoveries must have come to the all-powerful Vatican from Catholic bishops who were sent as far north as Iceland. But this knowledge sank into obscurity with the decline of these predatory northern tribesmen.

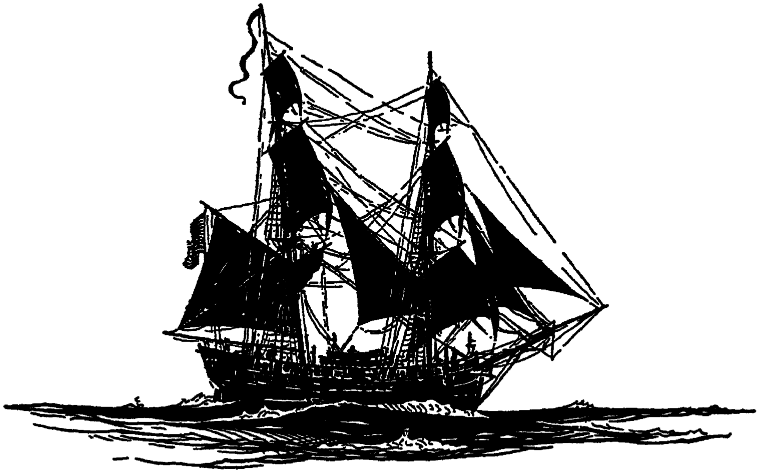
The first mention of Norse America by a medieval historian is found in *Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg-Bremen* by Adam of Bremen, a German historian who lived in the 11th century. His information about Denmark and Norway came to him from King Sven Estridsson of Denmark, who talked reminiscently with him about the fighting days of old.

> By "beyond Denmark" Adam meant the whole vast north, lands and seas which had been lifted above the horizons of history by the conquest and colonization of the Norse peoples.

Bremen was the chief port of Europe whither came ships from the distant unknown countries laden with walrus ivory, furs, whale oil, and dried fish, and Adam could have talked, as indeed he tells us he did, with hardy folk from far and unfamiliar ports, fishermen, traders and missionaries.[4]

What distant connection these first northern voyages had upon pre-Columbian explorations we probably will never know, since there seem to be no records extant. Nor do we find mention of these voyages in the documents of the Portuguese under Prince Henry or the Venetians under the Doges. Not till the Crusades, with the passage back and forth of pilgrims and armies, is there a record of the opening of new avenues of trade. With the prospect of economic gain by the establishment of these new trading routes came the stimulus for a new era of exploration. The sciences of navigation, map making, and astronomy were revived. The multitudes that journeyed to the Holy Land required supplies, ships, and even guidebooks. The merchants of Venice and Genoa found this whole business of crusading extremely profitable. Their galleys actively plied the Mediterranean. But by 1100 A.D., as the war with the Saracens continued, the cost of waging it increased. With each new Crusade the ships of Venice and Genoa took an increasing percentage of the spoils derived from conquered cities. Profits being lucrative, trade not aid for Jerusalem became the dominant motive. New routes were opened overland from northern Italy into central Europe, and along them developed towns. These became the trade cities of the Middle Ages and extended as far as the North Sea. Their development is not, however, within the scope of this work.

By 1295 the Polo brothers had completed their excursions into Chinese Tartary and had visited the Great Khan. The information gained from the Polos pushed the limits of the dimly known world back across the middle east to India, China, and Japan. Most important, the fabulous "Indies" became the focal point and resulted in the search for new passages to her riches. This search was carried on by land and by sea with indefatigable determination. It was to result in the greatest discoveries the world has ever known. It was to resolve itself finally in the quest for a Northwest Passage in that remotest corner of the earth, the Pacific Northwest coast of North America.



H.M. ARMED TENDER CHATHAM

II

13th to 17th Century

The medieval discovery of Asia was to prove as significant for Europe as the finding of the New World two centuries later. The mind of medieval man after the Crusades and the journeys of the Polos was never again to revert to a stagnant philosophy based on a theory of an afterlife. The arts themselves did not hold their dominance of earlier days. Literature took on a more imaginative trend. History and adventure were discussed and written down. The burning question now seemed to be how best to expand trade with the Orient. All efforts were bent toward the discovery of the quickest and cheapest routes for the fabulously profitable

Far Eastern trade. We shall pursue the course of this subject only as it serves to provide a background for the discovery of the Northwest Coast of America.

By the 13th century, feelings of nationalism were everywhere rising in western Europe. A new self-confidence was evident in the expansion of the guilds and the growth of towns. A new era of maritime discovery was to begin. Portugal was the first to shake off the lethargy of the Middle Ages. The key to all succeeding Spanish and Portuguese explorations is provided by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), Portugal's guiding genius of exploration, from whose activities stemmed the great discoveries of Spain in the New World. First, wrote the historian Azurara, Henry felt that the new lands on the west coast of Africa would be greatly profitable "to our countrymen." Second, Henry desired to capture the minds of new peoples with the intent of "making increase in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to Him all the souls that should be saved. . . ."[1] One or both of these reasons was to be used in the ensuing centuries for the exploitation and settlement of Spanish lands in the New World.

Gradually the sailors of Henry's new navy inched their way down the west coast of Africa; by 1486, Bartolomeo Díaz had doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Though by this time Henry had been dead for twenty-six years, the gold and slaves of Africa continued to provide the motive for successive expeditions, which were finally to eclipse the Venetian trade with the Orient. After the return of Díaz, a new leader, Vasco da Gama, was chosen to command the next Portuguese expedition. Departing in 1497 from Lisbon, da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and anchored at Mozambique. From here he sailed through seas new to Europeans and known only by the Greek mariners of antiquity. He then crossed the Indian Ocean and reached Calcutta. In 1498 he returned to Portugal loaded with a valuable cargo of jewels and spices. No longer would duties have to be paid at way points on the overland route which wound its way from India across Persia and Arabia to ports of the Middle East. With these duties removed, enormous profits were soon realized by the Portuguese merchants through a direct water route to India.

It was now known that the geographical information of Ptolemy, so long relied upon, was far too limited. The Indian Ocean, instead of being an enclosed sea, was found to open the way to India and perhaps beyond. Lands but dimly noted in the *Geographia* of Ptolemy became common knowledge. Unknown seas were charted. All this progress had been effected slowly after the Crusades had opened the overland trade routes to the Far East.

This business had earlier become the monopoly of Italian merchants in Genoa and Venice, and additional routes could be devised only by discovering new sea lanes. The improvement of the Arabian astrolabe enabled sailors to navigate out of sight of land, and it was now possible to use the magnetic needle at sea. Successful voyages had at last been made by the Portuguese to India and back. Men of vision could now plan even more direct routes to the Orient. Why not attempt a crossing directly westward to reach India, and even Cathay, through the "Great Dark Sea" of the Atlantic?

Greek geography had a direct influence on Columbus. Strabo, who lived during the reign of Emperor Augustus (63 B.C.-20 A.D.), had collected many works of the classical geographers, who had estimated that Europe was not many miles distant from India. In fact, when the works of Strabo were rediscovered in the later Middle Ages, the ideas of Eratosthenes came shining through the centuries. By the 15th century he was quoted in the geography of Strabo as saying, "It [the world] forms a complete circle, itself meeting itself, so that if the Great Atlantic Sea did not prevent, we could sail from Spain to India along one and the same parallel over the remainder of the circle."[2]

With the exploits of Christopher Columbus this was first attempted, and many men believed an extension of India had at last been discovered. It was generally accepted by most scholars of that time that if Cathay had not been found, at least the new land was a projection of the continent of Asia.

In this survey it is appropriate to consider Columbus as a product of the Middle Ages. At the Library of the Columbine in Seville are kept the only books on cosmogony with which he was acquainted. They are the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestorum* of Aeneas Silvius (Pope Pius II), published at Venice in 1477, and the *Imago Mundi* of d'Ailly, published between 1480 and 1487. In their margins are found the prolific notes of Christopher Columbus and his brother Bartholomew. In his talks with both Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus affected great knowledge by quoting profusely from ancient Greek and Latin authors, but he based his arguments on the narrow and prejudiced texts of the early Middle Ages.

Columbus undoubtedly died believing he had discovered Asia, though few people of his day actually believed he had found a new continent. The contributions that he made were really fourfold and not single. He proved that vessels were not irretrievably lost which sailed at such a great distance to the west. He found new lands and with them the ocean routes by which they could be reached and from which men might return in safety. But the discovery of the New World had so fired the imaginations of men that not until the Atlantic was better known could his other achievements be appreciated.

The first action of the contemporary cartographers was to incorporate in their maps the Asiatic beliefs held by Columbus. These ideas are to be seen in the charts of Waldseemüller and the globe of Schöner (1533) as well as in the work of Castaneda,[3] the chronicler of the Coronado expedition.

This new advance of geographic thought resulted in the issuance of the Papal Bull of 1493 by which a line of demarcation was drawn from pole to pole. The line was placed 100 leagues to the west of the Azores with the intent of ceding to Portugal all land west of the line, the opposite meridian falling across India. But with this division Portugal was not content. She felt that her maritime archrival Spain might receive too much of the Spice Islands of the East. After all, one-half of the world was far too small an allotment for Portugal to receive. Thus another treaty was signed in 1494 at Tordesillas which moved the dividing line 270 leagues farther west. Portugal should have let well enough alone. All that the new treaty did, as she was later to discover, was to give Portugal, on one side, more of the Atlantic Ocean and, on the other, lose her the Moluccas. The reason, of course, for this arbitrary division was simply that the Pacific Ocean was as yet unknown. Earlier Mohammedan pretensions to a domination of the world could now be answered by the Holy Roman See with equally grandiose claims.

As a result of this line laid down by His Holiness Pope Alexander VI, Spain was later forced to direct her galleons from the Philippines back across the Pacific to Mexico, as the route around the Cape of Good Hope belonged to Portugal. Thus were initiated the famous runs of the Manila galleons.

By 1496 England had modestly entered the picture. The first of the Tudor line, Henry VII, who had just usurped the throne of Richard III, commissioned a Venetian, John Cabot, to command an expedition which was to reach India by sailing on a northwesterly course from England. It was believed that it would be possible to reach the Indies by sailing through or around the northern land mass of the New World. Failure to discover such a course was attributed to every reason but the right one, namely, that no such open passage existed. A series of voyages to the northeastern coast of North America were continued for centuries. Though we are not here concerned with the details of such explorations, they served gradually to delineate the eastern coastline of North America and to remove the probability of a northern route to the Indies.

The method was but a process of elimination. Obviously, the most remote area was where such a discovery must be made. And this remote area gradually came to be the only one left unexplored after centuries of trial and error—the Northwest Coast of North America. In point of space and time it was the most distant, and by the process of geographical elimination it came to be the only remaining place where a northern passage could exist. But before this conclusion was reached by the 18th century explorations of the Pacific Northwest, a gradual pattern of maritime discovery was to unfold.

Spain, long jealous of the Portuguese trade monopoly with India and the East Indies Spice Islands, was well aware of the fact that a new ocean existed. In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had crossed the Isthmus of Darien and from a high hill had sighted what he termed "a Great South Sea." It might be possible, reasoned the Spanish Crown, to enter this Great South Sea and sail across it to the East Indies.

Magellan, disappointed by the refusal of Portugal to increase his pay, left its navy and offered his services to Charles V of Spain, who was most happy to enlist them.

Magellan requested appointment as commander of an expedition to attempt a westward voyage through or around the land area of South America. If this could be done, then he would try to sail across this newly found South Sea directly to the Spice Islands of the Moluccas and thus prove that they were within that part of the territory allotted Spain by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Permission was granted, and he left Sanlucar at the mouth of the river, a few miles below Seville, in 1519, reaching the estuary of the Rio de la Plata in South America. He attempted to sail through this opening to the Pacific, but failing, continued to coast southward until he reached the strait which now bears his name. He sailed through this strait, naming the land to the south Tierra del Fuego because of the fires he saw inland. In November 1520, he entered the Pacific and crept gradually westward toward the Philippines, where on one of the islands he was killed by natives. His vessel, the *Victoria,* made it back around the Cape of Good Hope, arriving home in September 1522, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the world. The original goal of Columbus, that of sailing westward to the Indies, had been accomplished.

In the meantime, Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, had sent expeditions out to develop trade with the natives of Central America. The success of Balboa, and particularly the gold he obtained, inspired the crafty Velasquez to dispatch other expeditions. Juan de Grijalva,[4] in obedience to the governor's orders, reconnoitered Yucatan in 1518, reaching Vera Cruz, to become the discoverer of Mexico. The treasure he brought back with him convinced the Cuban governor that the land, or at least its coastal cities, should be conquered and the trade started by Grijalva increased.

As related to the Portuguese business done with the East Indies, the term "trade" used in connection with Spain's exploitation of the New World is a misnomer. The phrase "extraction of gold and silver" is more accurate. The commander of this invading force, appointed by the governor, was Hernando Cortes. Through a series of astounding circumstances, this one man, with a handful of Spanish soldiery and native allies picked up on the way, succeeded in conquering the entire country. Any means justified the end, and by 1522 there lay in his grasp a country which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific and contained fabulous mines of silver and gold.

Cortes had reached the Great South Sea at a number of points, thus securing positions on the western coastline of New Spain. Here naval bases were rapidly constructed, the largest—that at Acapulco—being built in 1530. At this time the coastline was well known from Colima to Panama, and more bases were prepared for expeditions both by land and by sea. Next Cortes appointed one of his captains, Francisco Ulloa, to the command of an expedition which sailed from Acapulco in 1539. Ulloa located the mouth of the Colorado River and doubled Cape San Lucas at the southern tip of Lower California. From here, he sailed up as far as Cedros Island on the western coast.

In the year 1531, the conquistador, Francisco Pizzaro, who had stood at Balboa's side when the South Sea was first sighted, landed at Tumtiez on the coast of Peru with a crew of 183 men, to begin the conquest of Peru.

With the immense returns of gold and silver netted in Peru and Mexico, expeditions were organized on mere rumors of treasure in adjoining territories. As early as 1528 Panfilo Narvaez, with 300 men, landed in Florida, where they were decimated by battle and disease. The four survivors were held as slaves for six years by the natives. The leader of the pathetic remnant, Cabeza de Vaca, escaped from the Indians and made his way on foot across the present states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and into the northern part of Mexico, where he happened on a Spanish outpost. The stories he told of wealthy towns in the north, called the Seven Cities of Cíbola, were repeated throughout the country.

A firm belief in the existence of these mythical towns excited Fray Marcos de Niza to attempt to reach them. Niza journeyed as far north as some Pueblo villages, but on his return he reported that the cities of Cíbola (whose streets were paved with gold) were just a little farther north than he had been able to go. His stories were typical of the fictitious reports that were told many times over in New Spain. As some conquistadors had already extracted wealth from the natives beyond any Spaniard's dream, why should not additional gold be found in cities yet unknown? The rumors circulated by Niza, being faithfully reported as facts, were primarily what caused Cortes to organize the expeditions of Coronado and Alarcon.

In the spring of 1540 these two captains set out, Coronado by land and Alarcon by sea. Hernando Alarcon sailed up the Gulf of California to the Colorado River, which he explored for almost 250 miles. But not being able to communicate with the land forces of Coronado, he returned in 1542. Meanwhile Coronado had traveled as far as Zuñi, the Pueblo Indian towns of New Mexico. From here he sent out his lieutenant Alvarado, who reconnoitered to the east, discovering the Rio Grande River and naming it Señora, since it was first seen on the birth date of the Virgin Mary. Coronado also returned in 1542 and made his report to the viceroy of New Spain.

The correspondence of these men is lost beyond recovery, and only by examining copies of the contemporary charts can we determine the areas explored. Failure to locate the cities of the north discouraged no one. They were only a little farther on. As with the northwest passage, so it was with Cíbola and Quivera—they were moved on the charts to a more distant place. Besides, cartographers, eager to cater to the tastes of a curious public in Europe, found their atlases sold better if they included legendary cities and mythical straits. In 1569 Gerhard Mercator, the outstanding map maker of his day, moved Quivera without hesitation to the west coast of America. As Henry R. Wagner once said, nothing gives one confidence like a map, and so, since these places were on a map, it was assumed that they must actually exist. It was a trick of the times and became a vicious circle, leading on repeated expeditions which brought back reports that led to equally frustrating results in other voyages.

The Viceroy Mendoza, it is refreshing to find, was realistic enough to appreciate that Coronado had not found any mines of gold and silver. For most viceroys the lack of precious metals was sufficient proof of an expedition's failure. No booty, no reward. And yet Mendoza felt that, since no coastal towns had been seen, perhaps the treasure which had eluded Coronado's overland search was to be found on the northern seacoast.

Once more His Excellency Antonio de Mendoza decided to outfit a maritime expedition. Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo was chosen as the leader and sailed from Navidad in June 1542.[5] He anchored in San Diego Bay in September, naming it for San Miguel the Archangel. Following the land closely, Cabrillo sighted Santa Catalina Island and sailed close to the Bay of Santa Monica. Coasting northward, he discovered the Channel Islands in the Santa Barbara and San Pedro channels and, sailing past Point Reyes, finally anchored in Monterey Bay, November 16, 1542. In January 1543, at San Miguel Island, Cabrillo died. Though he was the discoverer of the coast of California, unfortunately the place names given by Cabrillo were superseded by those of Vizcaino in 1602. On Cabrillo's death his chief pilot, Ferrer, took command of the expedition, and the two small vessels, the *San Salvador* and the *Victoria,* sailed as far north as the present Point Arena, which they named Cabo de Fortunas. The ships returned to Navidad in April 1543. Thus was completed the first exploration of California's coastline by these tiny unseaworthy craft, "neither of which had decks, on an unknown coast, and in the dead of winter," as Wagner describes the expedition.[6]

By 1550 the majority of Spanish discoveries in the New World had been completed. A vast extent of territory had been discovered and explored from the first voyage of Columbus in 1492 to Cabrillo's exploration of the coast of California in 1542. In a span of but fifty years, a coastline of over 30,000 miles had been revealed, extending from Florida southward around the Horn and northward to a few miles above San Francisco Bay. While most areas remained to be accurately charted, such an extensive accomplishment was not to be made again. These magnificent exploits of Spain's explorers were never to be duplicated in history.

The occupation of the Philippines by Spain under Lopez de Legaspi in 1565 created more opportunities and problems for New Spain. All merchandise would have to be carried in vessels sailing east from Manila across the Pacific because of Portuguese control of all westward routes. The old Treaty of Tordesillas came back to haunt the viceroys. These galleons sailing eastward across the Pacific were in dire need of provisioning ports on the western coast of America. To the dangers of marine disaster by storm and disease was soon added that of piracy by English corsairs. Anson, Hawkins, Dampier, Cavendish, and Drake descended like marine vultures on the gold-laden Spanish galleons.

With the exception of Sir Francis Drake, the prizes seized by these raiders did not constitute a serious blow to the constant flow of New World treasure to Spain. But their ability to enter and leave what had hitherto been a Spanish ocean posed an insoluble problem for the junta in Seville. Had these corsairs uncovered and kept secret the long-sought-for northwest strait?

How the pirates came into the Great South Sea might have been a mystery for the Spaniards, but why they came was not. The terrible wars the monarchs of Spain had been waging in Europe were largely financed by the flow of her New World riches. English Protestants, through the corsairs, were merely striking back at the source of this wealth by sporadic forays into the Pacific and more numerous attempts to cut the golden lifeline across the Caribbean. These French and English pirates, operating under the quasi-official assent of their governments, knew what the Inquisition meant for Europeans. They struck back at Spain on land and on the sea lanes of the New World with implacable fury.

Drake, whose father had been an Anglican minister, considered Roman Catholics anti-Christians to be hunted down and plundered at will. This he did with consummate success.[7] Bursting into the Pacific in January 1579, he made a series of raids upon the ships and towns of New Spain. Loaded down as he was with gold and silver bullion from Spain's galleons, he hoped to find a way from the Pacific to England through the North American continent. The Spaniards were never sure that he did not. But failing to find such a passage, he nonetheless evaded capture by the Spanish ships sent to intercept him and careened his vessel, the *Golden Hind,* probably at Bodega Bay a few miles north of the Golden Gate. Here he left a brass plate "fixed to a firme poste."[8] This plate was found in 1937 and identified as the one referred to in *The World Encompassed,* the journal of his voyage published in 1628.[9]

Drake's expedition was of great significance. It led to a resumption of Spanish exploration and had a bearing on later

English claims to the Oregon territory, for Drake stated he had sailed to 43° North latitude and had taken possession of the country at Bodega Bay in the name of Queen Elizabeth, naming it New Albion.

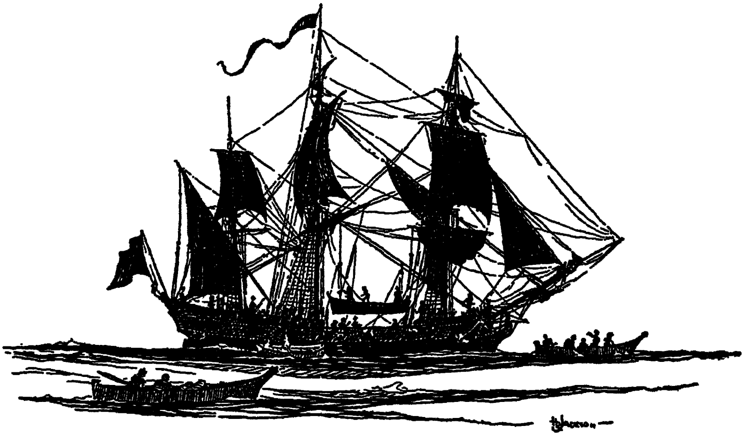
Drake returned to Plymouth in 1580, and while the journals of his voyage were kept secret by Elizabeth (they were not published for forty-eight years), Spain had been fully cognizant of his presence in the sacred and previously inviolate South Sea. In fact, the viceroy was not at all sure that Drake had not used some northern strait to make his return to England. Such a possibility had to be investigated, and certainly a port on the west coast had to be developed for the protection of the returning Manila galleons. With this in mind the viceroy, Conde de Monterey, organized the next expedition of three vessels, which sailed from Acapulco in May 1602, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino, a man who was a merchant, not a sailor. As Wagner dryly puts it, he was a man "devoid of executive ability and was not overburdened with courage."[10] He claimed to have reached a latitude of 43° and thought he had sighted Cape Blanco in what is now southern Oregon. While Vizcaino, who commanded the ship *San Diego,* possibly sailed north of Cabrillo's discoveries, nothing additional was accomplished. Vizcaino, however, renamed many of the places previously named by Cabrillo, and these place names were used thereafter, while those given by Cabrillo were forgotten.

Ensign Martin Aguilar, who commanded the ship *Tres Reyes* in the expedition, was reported by Father Ascension, who sailed on the voyage aboard the *Almiranta,* to have sighted a river in 43° North latitude. Father Ascension's remarks regarding this event reveals the stage of geographic knowledge of that time. The good father wrote, "No news nor signs of the city of Quivera could be had during the whole course of the exploration, not even in this latitude, and though some have thought that this Rio de Santa Inez which the Fragata discovered is the one which reaches that city. . . ."[11]

There has been speculation by historians over the location of this river. Henry R. Wagner was sure it is the Mad River, and George Davidson wrote that it is the Rogue River. Though the expedition had made no important discoveries, the glowing reports given of Monterey as a port and the possible existence of a river to the north were recalled more than a century and a half later and had some influence on the establishment of the Franciscan settlements in California.

Until the overland expedition of Gaspar de Pórtola in 1769, we have no records of any Spanish voyages made on the coast above the Gulf of California. The indifference of the viceroys to further discoveries is difficult to explain. The élan passed down from the age of the conquistadors had vanished. Only the fervor of the missionaries remained, and this was restricted. Even the myths of a Northwest Passage had lost their former glamor. The elite of New Spain had become disenchanted with profitless expeditions of discovery.

Yet all the old motives which had stimulated it in the past were still present: first, the fear of foreign discovery of a Northwest Passage; second, utilization of ports (which by now had been found) such as Monterey and San Diego to provision the Manila galleons; third, settlement of additional land for the extraction of gold; and fourth, a duty to save native souls. Since the reign of Prince Henry of Portugal, the latter two motives had remained unchanged. The dormant but inspirational religious impulse served to awaken exploratory zeal. Representatives of the Jesuits and Franciscans never ceased to importune the kings of Spain to grant them new fields for missionary work. Bancroft writes with a rare display of humor that "Many times was the King reminded of the rich spiritual harvest to be gathered in California by friars who never allowed him to forget the secular advantages to be gained by complying with their wishes. . . ."[12] No doubt the reawakening of the Spaniards was also motivated by reports of Russian encroachments in the far north. This became another important factor in stimulating the Spanish to consolidate their California territory by establishing missions.



PRINCESA

III Earliest Voyages in the North Pacific Ocean

The first record we have of explorers entering the North Pacific Ocean is that of Vitus Bering and his lieutenants Martin Spanberg and Alexei Chirikof. In 1725, by orders from Peter the Great, the expedition started its march from St. Petersburg overland across Siberia. But it was not until July 13, 1728, that Bering set sail on the ship *St. Gabriel,* which he had had built at Kamchatka. After sailing up to 65°30′ North latitude, the expedition returned to its base at Kamchatka. Bering had been the first to sail into the Arctic Ocean through the present Bering Strait. He had sighted and named the island of St. Diomede, but fog had obscured the shore of North America. In 1730 Bering made his way back to St. Petersburg and gave his report on the expedition to the Empress Catherine, Peter having died shortly after Bering's departure.

Meanwhile, in 1727, the Russian senate ordered Alfanase Shestakof, a Cossack, to conduct an expedition through Siberia and reduce the native tribes to submission. Shestakof was killed in 1730 while fighting these tribesmen, but other members of his party carried on. In 1732 Federof and Gwosdef, members of this expedition, made a voyage by sea from Kamchatka in Bering's old ship, the *St. Gabriel,* which they found there. These two Russians may possibly have been the first to sight the American coastline, as Gwosdef later reported sighting from one of the Diomede Islands in the direction of North America a body of land which he referred to as the "Large Country."[1]

The second expedition of Bering left St. Petersburg in 1733, again en route overland across Siberia to Kamchatka. Eight years later, on June 4, 1741, the *St. Peter,* commanded by Vitus Bering, and the *St. Paul,* by Alexei Chirikof, set sail for the northern latitudes. They sighted the coast of America in July 1741, and Bering discovered and named Mt. St. Elias in Alaska. Bering died on the island named for him during the attempt of the *St. Peter* to return to Kamchatka. However, the furs that the remaining officers and men brought back with them from Bering Island stimulated an interest in establishing fur-trading posts and led eventually to the era of the great fur trade.

Of all the individual voyages in the history of exploration, these expeditions of Vitus Bering rank as the most difficult and exhausting. A total of sixteen years had been spent by this tireless Dane in the duties of discovery since Peter had issued the first orders to him in 1725. Many geographical puzzles were cleared by Bering's voyages, and new light was thrown on the potential economic value of the North Pacific's fur trade. The sufferings of the officers and men had been intense, and as F. A. Golder writes, "But what a price was paid for this knowledge! Only a few of those who enlisted survived the years of hard labor, privations, cold, and suffering. Even those who lived to return to the scenes of their childhood were so broken in health that the joy of living was nearly gone."[2]

The link between these early Russians and the later Spanish and English expeditions was forged through the establishment of Russian trading posts in the Aleutians. In 1783 Grigor Shelekhov founded permanent posts at Kodiak and Unalaska, where Baranov was employed as manager. Later the Russian posts were extended to Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. As late as 1812 the Russians established Fort Ross in California, eighteen miles north of Bodega Bay.[3]

These many Russian activities were reported to the Spanish government and led directly to the Perez expedition of 1774.[4] Navarrete confirms this by stating: "The political occurrences in Europe, and the Russian settlements in the region of New Spain demanded that the defence and protection of the Spanish dominions should be secured. With this object an expedition was projected in 1768."[5]

It was not until six years later, however, that the ship *Santiago* was manned for the voyage. This was the expedition of Perez which was dispatched from San Blas on January 25, 1774, to explore up to 60° North latitude and to take possession of the land where practicable. Juan Josef Perez Hernandez commanded the *Santiago*, and his executive officer was Esteban Jose Martinez. On August 8, 1774, Perez anchored in a roadstead of 25 fathoms and recorded 49°30′

North latitude. He named this anchorage San Lorenzo. Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, is in this latitude, and Friendly Cove, at the entrance to the sound, is in 49°30′25″ North latitude. Although there is still some doubt whether this anchorage actually was made in Nootka Sound, Martinez later claimed that it was. Furthermore, if Navarrete is correct in his famous introduction, he corroborates the claims of Martinez when he writes that on May 5, 1789, "Martinez was very well received by the natives, particularly Chief Macuina . . . and showed him the shells from Monterey, which Martinez had given him in 1774, when he was there with the corvette, Santiago, and which Macuina preserved with much appreciation."[6]

In 1778 Captain Cook anchored in this bay and gave it the present name of Nootka. Captain Cook traded actively with the Indians at Nootka and made a curious observation in his journal which may have a bearing on the earlier Spanish expedition of 1774. Cook related: "But what was most singular, two silver table-spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, we supposed to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck, by way of ornament." Cook also explained the naming of the sound: "On my arrival in this inlet, I had honored it with the name of King George's Sound, but I afterwards found that it is called Nootka by the natives."[7]

Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawaii, but his ships continued on to China with some pelts of the sea otter taken from the Indians of the Northwest Coast. The prices which these skins brought from the Mandarins greatly stimulated later English commercial ventures.

In December 1799, the expedition anchored off Canton and put the furs up for sale. At least three-quarters of the sea otter pelts had been destroyed during the voyage, but those left brought a fabulous price. For once the British officer's reserve was broken. Though fostered in class-conscious eighteenth-century England, this veneer was pierced by pounds, and for a brief moment in the journal we are introduced to an incident of trade that was to have repercussions over the sea lanes of the world.

Captain James King, continuing the journal of Cook, wrote: "The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and buy another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, at one time was not far short of mutiny; and I must own, I could not help indulging myself in a project . . . through the means of the East India Company, not only without expence, but even with the prospect of very considerable advantages."[8] Captain King then reported he had "received 800 dollars" for about "twenty sea otter skins, chiefly the property of our deceased Commander."[9] Such a reward was startling enough but more was yet to come. The total amount received for the furs in both ships, according to Captain King, "did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling."[10] It was such a rags-to-riches tale, brought back to England, that set the wheels of trade in motion. The rush to enter the Northwest fur business from England probably began shortly after the publication of Cook's *Voyages* in 1784.

As Cook was confronted in the Northwest with bad weather, he was prevented from seeing very much of the coast and was unable to enter the Strait of Juan de Fuca, although he observed and named Cape Flattery. Cook's expedition was one of the most important ever made to the Pacific Northwest, but he had seen considerably less of the Northwest Coast than had Perez, Hezeta, or Bodega, and his descriptions of the regions visited, with the exception of Nootka Sound, were less complete. Like the Spaniards, he had not found the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, nor had he even suspected that the northern shores were those of islands, not of the mainland.

> But Cook had established the longitude of the coast much more accurately than his predecessors by mere dead-reckoning had been able to do; and by the accidental carrying away of a small collection of furs, whose great value was learned in Siberia and China, he originated the great fur-trade which became the chief incentive of all later English and American expeditions to these regions.[11]

For more than thirty years Nootka Sound was the center of the Northwest fur trade. Small ships variously described as bilanders, snows, packetboats, and brigs, frequented those coves and inlets where the sea otter abounded. In addition to their fur-trading enterprises, many of these captains made important geographical discoveries on the coast and gave names to many landmarks and waterways. As Chittenden remarks,

> The chief interest of the fur trade lies not so much in the trade itself, as what it did for the cause of discovery. . . . It is not an easy thing, at this period in American history to appreciate how great a place in the affairs of former times the fur trade occupied. . . . The fur trade is indissolubly connected with the history of North America.[12]

Probably the first round-trip fur-trading expedition by sea was that of Captain James Hanna, who visited the Northwest Coast in 1785. He left China en route to Nootka and returned to Macao in December 1785. Again in 1786 he returned to Nootka for his second expedition in quest of the valuable sea otter. Although a fragment of his journal is in the Provincial Archives in Victoria, the knowledge we have of his expedition comes mainly from traders who followed him.

After Hanna came Captain James Strange, who left Bombay, India, on December 8, 1785, and on July 6, 1786, reported in his journal[13] "at length come to our moorings in Friendly Harbor. . . ."[14] The many interesting entries in the journal of Captain Strange show that both he and his officers were most alert and observing. Before leaving the Northwest Coast Strange decided to put his surgeon, Mackay, ashore at Nootka, giving as his reason, "a sure testimony to the inhabitants that my return to them next season was certain."[15]

Also, Captain Strange wished to have Mackay act as an interpreter during the next fur-trading season. Strange, shrewdly anticipating the young doctor's medical difficulties with the Indians, gave him the following practical, if not ethical, advice. "I considered that if unfortunately an accident had happened to any of his patients, in consequence of his failing in the means for their recovery there is no doubt but that his life would pay the forfeit. I therefore most earnestly recommended to him, on no account whatever, to administer to those whose Complaints were of an alarming nature. . . ."

This first narrative of a fur-trading expedition did not overlook that disease which was to be the greatest problem for all subsequent mariners, namely scurvy. Captain James Strange's ideas of this affliction were typical of his time. It was first believed that the sudden change from a semitropical to a temperate zone lay at the root of scurvy. After all, the vessels came from either a winter at Hawaii, China, or India and went directly to the present Vancouver Island and Alaskan regions. It followed clearly enough to the commanders that this, then, was the trouble with their crews, an inability to adapt themselves to changing weather. Captain Strange was convinced of it. He wrote: "If I were to hazard an opinion as to the cause, (or at least one of the causes) from which it arose, I should conceive it Owing to the trying change of climate. . . ."[16] His remedial measures for the disease were simply that of a good seaman: merely to "have the decks kept as dry as possible, by every means of Cleanliness; and they were accordingly well Aired with fires and frequently smoaked and washed with Vinegar. . . ."

Still the disease persisted. In fact it became the number one problem of the fur traders. A variety of causes with suggested cures are given in most of the contemporary journals. At times the disease became so serious that, after a long voyage, few men could be found to man the sails or weigh anchor. Such was the plight of Quadra in 1775 aboard the *Sonora* when "the ravages of scurvy only left two men fit to work in each watch."[17]

The importance of this shipboard scourge is such that it deserves a discussion here in relation to the maritime fur trade. Only after the discovery of America, it seems, did scurvy become common, as the new age of long sailing voyages was begun. The first long journeys by sea record the ravages of the disease and show the symptoms to be everywhere the same. When Vasco da Gama in 1497 embarked upon his voyage around the Cape of Good Hope (previously discovered by Díaz in 1488), scurvy first appeared when the ships were off the west African Coast. By this time fifty-five of his crew were dead. During Ferdinand Magellan's voyage to the Pacific (1519-25) the oft-to-be-repeated symptoms were graphically described. "By reason of this famine and unclean feeding, some of their gums grew so over their teeth that they died miserably from hunger."[18]

As such long sea voyages were not made by the English until many years afterwards, little mention of the disease is to be found. The British voyages were first confined to the North Atlantic and usually involved only a few months spent at sea. One of the first English reports of the disease was made by John Lok, during his voyage to Guinea in 1554.

But a few years later, during Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the earth in the *Golden Hind,* no mention is made of any deaths from scurvy. However, in 1586 Drake's crews were so decimated by the disease, off Cartagena, that his plans for liberating the Spanish gold and silver at Panama had to be abandoned. Later, in 1588, when the Spanish Armada was defeated, both the English and Spanish fleets were badly afflicted with scurvy. One eyewitness wrote that "in the ships of the Spanish fleet the infection was like that of the plague itself."[19]

Aboard the *Daintie* in 1593, Captain Richard Hawkins thought the cause to be "the stomacks feebleness by change of air in intemperate climates, of diet in salt meats, boiled also in salt water."[20] Hawkins, the intrepid corsair, looked hopefully to the scientific men of his day for the cure when he observed, "I wish that some learned men would write of it, for it is the plague of the sea and the spoil of mariners."[21]

Dr. Charles Creighton noted that, though this disease had been experienced by English explorers, it was only when the general trade to the East Indies commenced that it became a critical problem.[22] When the directors of the East India Company began to see their profits threatened, they took independent measures to alleviate the affliction by providing lemon water and wine. A new problem now became apparent when the sailors refused to take the medicine. Anyone who has had sea duty will recognize this problem with men who are ordered to eat or drink anything with which they were unfamiliar at home. Even luxuries in food, when served to crews, are refused if unfamiliar, much more so any distasteful diet provided for their benefit.

Vancouver's journal, as well as those of the Spanish explorers of the Northwest Coast from 1774 to 1792, often refer to the "brewing of spruce beer." This practice consisted of cooking a broth of pine needles. These simple remedies were passed on from one generation to another, and in an age when the advancement of medical knowledge was painfully slow and retarded by superstition, such measures of treatment were repeated for centuries. Exactly two hundred and fifty-six years before the expeditions of 1792 into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Jacques Cartier was exploring the St. Lawrence River. Here, in 1536, Cartier lost twenty-six of his men from scurvy. The remaining members of his party were saved, according to Cartier, by feeding them a broth of pine needles suggested by the Indians. (It is now known that small amounts of Vitamin C are contained in pine needles.)

Although Captain Cook, in 1778, had used limes quite successfully in combating scurvy, the British Navy did not consider it a specific cure. This lack of confidence by the Admiralty resulted from the fact that preservation of the lime juice demanded that it be heated, a procedure which, while preserving the juice, at the same time destroyed the Vitamin C content. As this fact was not known, and as scurvy cases still multiplied, the British Navy doubted the efficacy of limes. It is now known that lemons have a higher antiscorbutic value than limes, which were first used. Those British ships which carried dried fruits still gave no protection from scurvy to their crews, as antiscorbutic properties of fruits are largely lost when dehydrated. The Admiralty took the position that something was better than nothing. As no one knew anything about the cause, every remedy was tried from dried fruits and heated lime juice to "brewing spruce beer."

From the 1790-92 period of exploration of the Pacific Northwest Coast until one hundred eighteen years later, no knowledge regarding the etiology of scurvy was added. In the famous eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1910, it was considered that scurvy may be caused by a bacterial infection rather than the result of a dietary deficiency. As late as this, then, scientists were still groping in the dark. Scurvy is a good example of how difficult medical knowledge is to come by and, once found, how little appreciated.

A most illuminating passage regarding the knowledge and treatment of the disease is found in the last volume of Vancouver's journal. It was just after approaching the entrance to Valparaiso Bay on March 25, 1795, which Vancouver noted was "described by Sir Richard Hawkins in 1593,"[23] that both the *Chatham* and *Discovery* came to anchor. They then began to examine the depredations made upon the crews of both ships by scurvy. Seventeen men, Vancouver wrote, were found to be "incapable of tending their duty" aboard the *Discovery;* on the decks of the *Chatham* "their number was not so great though the disease was making rapid progress."[24] Vancouver next made an assumption, reaffirmed up to 1910, that perhaps the disease was caused by poisoning. He termed the eating of fat skimmings from boiled salt meat a "pernicious practise."[25] The British captain then "deemed it expedient that the whole crews of both vessels should, in addition to the regular allowance of fresh beef and greens, a new soft bread from the shore, be daily served with a quantity of grapes, apples, and onions; and I soon had the happiness of finding, that this salutary diet was attended with the desired effect of entirely eradicating the disease."[26] As must have happened many times since in medicine, though the remedy was correct it did not follow that the cause could be accurately diagnosed.

Much less efficacious was the remedy of Vancouver's contemporary, Captain Robert Gray, commanding the *Columbia* in 1791. During her second voyage the *Columbia* anchored in Clayoquot Sound on June 5, 1791. Here John Boit records that "they landed the sick immediately on our arrivall and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of the Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating Greens of various kinds. We buried sevrall of our *sick*, up to the Hips in the earth, and let them remain for hours in that situation found this method of great service."[27]

Though Cook, Gray, and Vancouver knew that fresh fruits and vegetables cured cases of scurvy during their winters at the Hawaiian Islands, this knowledge was of little use in the scientific world of the 18th century. However, these commanders must be praised for the relatively low mortality rates aboard their vessels and for their prompt action in providing corrective diets whenever possible.

Despite these maritime hazards—unseaworthy boats and disease—the competition for pelts became spirited, and finally erupted in May 1789, when Don Esteben Jose Martinez, then the Spanish commandant of Nootka, seized the British ship *Iphigenia,* which he later released. Again, on June 9, Martinez seized Funter's ship, the *Northwest America,*[28] and then the *Argonaut,* commanded by the English fur trader, Captain James Colnett. Ten days later the *Princess Royal,* commanded by Captain Hudson, was commandeered by this overly aggressive Spaniard who had gone too far in the performance of his duties. These vessels, with their masters and crews as prisoners, were sent to San Blas, New Spain, where the viceroy, realizing that his commandant at Nootka had overreached himself, faced the difficult problem of making peace with the English. These actions of Martinez at Nootka precipitated the famous Nootka Sound Controversy, which the Englishman Captain John Meares used to his own advantage.[29] The entire matter was settled in 1790 and led directly to the commission of George Vancouver, who, with his other duties, was ordered by the British Admiralty to meet with the Spanish representative at Nootka Sound:

> It having been agreed, by the late convention between His Majesty and the Catholic King,—that the buildings and tracts of land, situated on the north-west coast above mentioned, or on islands adjacent thereto, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects, the court of Spain has agreed to send orders, for that purpose, to its officers in that part of the world. . . .[30]

Spain could have handled the Nootka incident much differently. As Bancroft shrewdly observed, "Had Spain been willing to do so in after years, she could have said that nothing but the establishment of trading posts was given to the English, and that only on a temporary basis."[31]

Had Revilla-Gigedo's advice been followed by the king of Spain, few traders would have been able to put into Nootka in the first place. Revilla-Gigedo was the finest viceroy ever to be sent to New Spain; his equal was not seen again. According to the "Instruccion Reservada," when Revilla-Gigedo asked the home government for instructions, "he was told to dispose of the matter for himself, so he freed the English crews and restored their property in so far as it was possible."[32]

However, by the time that approval of the viceroy's measures came from Spain, due to the great length of time required for communications, "the diplomatic aspects of the question had passed from the hands of New World officials to those of the Ambassadors in Europe, and Revilla-Gigedo had no role in the decisions."[33]

Finally, when the time came for carrying out the provisions of the Nootka Convention, the commissioner for Spain, Bodega y Quadra, had died, and Revilla-Gigedo then named

Jose de Alava in his place. Alava began to carry out his orders when the great viceroy's term was ending. None of the original participants was active in the final negotiations.

It is significant to note how the viceroy's captains of marine honored him with place names in fourteen instances, five of which still survive: Revilla-Gigedo Island in southeastern Alaska; Revilla-Gigedo Channel between that island and the mainland; Padilla Bay, Washington; Guemes Island in Padilla Bay; and Suemey[34] Island in Bucareli Bay, Alaska.

The viceroy, whose term ran from 1789 to 1794, was originally of the opinion that neither Nootka nor the Northwest Coast was to be freely opened to English fur traders. He stated further that, according to an imperial order dated December 25, 1790, the English could only settle north of Nootka, "the dividing line being our legitimate possessions and the regions open for the reciprocal use and trade of both nations being fixed at 48°."[35]

Navarrete, stung by the words of Fleurieu in the Introduction to the *Voyage* of Etienne Marchand, replied that "If covetousness and ambition had been the motive power of our operations on the northern coasts of America . . . we certainly should not have expended such large sums in maintaining the settlements and in educating the Indians of a country so wretched as California, and its coasts. . . ."[36]

This controversy over Nootka did not prohibit the United States fur traders from cruising the entire Northwest area. Martinez had been particularly angered by the British, and in fact the Spanish did not consider the new United Colonies in America to present much of a threat. Actually, Spain and England gradually drew closer together after the Nootka Convention was signed in 1790. The great problems shortly to erupt in France by violent revolution and wholesale murder soon made Nootka pale into insignificance. But before this was to happen, the Nootka Controversy was debated on the floor of the French Assembly.

On January 20, 1790, Spain had importuned Montmorin, the French minister for foreign affairs, to unite with Spain in the impending struggle with England. The French National Assembly felt that their ties were stronger with Spain than with England, and on May 14, 1790, Montmorin informed the president of the Assembly that Louis XVI had ordered fourteen warships to be fitted with armaments. Then the roof fell in. For six whole days the stupidity of the Assembly was displayed in a medieval debate about theories. It was bitterly declared by Citizen Robespierre that a declaration of war must rest only with the people. Mirabeau raised his voice in support of the power of the king in making war or peace. Finally, at the end of the sixth day, the Revolutionary Assembly determined to retain the power to declare peace or war after a formal proposal had first been made by the king. But Montmorin wisely pointed out to the Spanish government that the will of the French Assembly could not be relied upon and that peace, not war, should be the goal of the Spanish junta. Upon receiving a formal demand for French aid on June 16, 1790, Montmorin, because of the precarious political situation in Paris, delayed his reply for six weeks, during which time "the diplomacy between Spain and England had taken an important turn."[37] So much for the French Assembly's brief but loquacious entry upon the scene of Pacific Northwest history.

Fundamentally, England's position was based on the fact that "discovery alone without being followed up by actual occupation, could not be admitted as furnishing a right to possession."[38] Furthermore, England did not claim sole rights to Nootka but only desired "a reciprocal assurance of free access for both nations."[39]

Though an amicable agreement was reached between the two nations in December 1790, the articles of the compromise (called afterward "The Nootka Convention") were never fully carried out. This was of course due to the fact that two years after the signing, in 1792, by the time Vancouver had sailed around to the North Pacific, England went to war with France. The next twenty-two years were spent in this sanguinary conflict. Long before the end of this violent period on sea and land, which culminated in 1815 at Waterloo, the United States had bought the Spanish claim to the Northwest Coast and "the whole matter was merged in the Oregon controversy."[40]

Though Captain George Vancouver was sent out in 1791 for the purpose of carrying out the articles of the convention, his meeting with Quadra at Nootka in 1792 was not decisive and nothing was settled. Once more the problem was placed before the councils of Madrid and London. Vancouver continued his explorations of the Northwest Coast for two years longer. Finally, in 1794, still not having received any new instructions from England (a puzzle even yet mysteriously unsolved), he sailed for home on December 1, 1794. At last, in March 1795, the agreement was carried out at Nootka by two new appointees, Don Manuel de Alava for the viceroy of Mexico, and Sir Thomas Pierce for the British Crown. As Manning dryly states, "After the prescribed ceremonies had been performed both the Spanish and English deserted the place. Nootka is still inhabited by Indians."[41]

In spite of three primary obstacles—improper diets of the crew, unseaworthy vessels, and the Nootka Sound Controversy—the fur trade became increasingly active and was carried on without interruption for the next thirty-five years. Various captains sailed throughout the Pacific Northwest waters during this time, making what they thought were independent discoveries. As Bancroft writes, "Englishmen under the English flag, English under the Portuguese flag, Spaniards and Russians, were cruising about, often within a few miles of each other, taking possession, for one nation or the other, of all the land in sight."[42]

During these years of trading for sea otter pelts, the Indians were often harshly dealt with, particularly by those traders who came by sea. Only one nation made its contacts by land—Russia. Her *promyshleniki* were independent operatives who traded at their own peril with no support from their government. These men crossed over to the Aleutian Island chain and lived with the various Indian tribes they found there who were best situated for sea otter procurement. These Russians did far more business than those traders from other countries who arrived by sea and were forced to barter for furs. The Russians not only lived on intimate terms with the native tribes, but as a rule treated them well, in contrast to the treatment meted out by both British and later American traders. These latter, out of necessity, would put into an Indian settlement but briefly, never expecting to revisit it and with the purpose of getting as many furs for as few goods as possible.

Vancouver was impressed with the success of the Russian fur trade between Port Etches on Hinchinbrook Island and Unalaska, where he was told by Ismailof in 1794 that between the two points four hundred Russians were employed. Always on the alert as to the relations between the natives and the traders of each nation, Vancouver carefully noted that the Russians' sole object was that of collecting furs "which is principally done by the Indians whose services they had completely secured, and whose implicit confidence they had intirely gained; particularly those of Cooks Inlet, and the islands of and to the south-west of the Kodiak."[43]

This close relationship with the tribes, so foreign to other adventurers, was a remarkable bit of acclimation on the part of these Russian *promyshleniki,* who, Vancouver observed, "seem to live among these untutored children of nature; having gained them over to be obedient to their wishes, they appear to maintain their influence not by fear, as the conquerors, but by having found the way to their hearts, and by securing an affectionate regard."[44] For this reason it was clear to both Cook and Vancouver that no other country could hope to do such a profitable business as Russia in the fur trade.

The pressure exerted on the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast for their sea otter pelts was unrelenting. Bribery, theft, and murder were merely means to a voyage's profitable end. The natives were no better treated by the ruthless Britishers and Colonials than the otters themselves. As third officer aboard the *Columbia,* Haswell wrote on October 17, 1788, a brief account of one instance in the business of the maritime fur trade. The vessel referred to is the *North West America,* in command of Captain Robert Funter.

> On there arrival at a village to plunder them of all the fish and oil they could find and give them perhaps a small pese of copper in return far less valuable than the provision they had taken by forse, and leav the poor harmless wretches unprovided for a long and rigerous winter, this cruel behavior seemed allmost unpardinable. Nay from the snow they would frequently send there boat in chace of the canoes and bring them too by fiering musket balls at them. . . .[45]

Such indiscriminate measures taken by both the British and Americans only hastened the day when the sea otter would be almost exterminated. Bancroft expressed a bitter opinion of this quest for pelts. He called it "scarcely worthy of the name of trade; it was a struggle to seize upon the largest quantity of the most valuable furs in the shortest time and at the least expense, without regard for consequences."[46]

Gradually the sea otter became harder to locate as the herds were senselessly slaughtered. Only the organization of the Russian American Company gradually stemmed the tide of complete extinction, but even this action came too late. The great collections of peltries had been made and marketed in the years before Dixon, Meares, Portlock, and Gray pushed their vessels into the Gulf of Alaska and the wooded coves of Vancouver Island. The height of the trade was reached between 1780 and 1790. "Long before American traders took a prominent part in these operations," writes Bancroft, "the golden days of the sea-otter traffic had passed away."[47]

And yet the Yankee trader did well with what furs he could collect as a down payment at Canton for silks, nankeens, chinaware, and tea, which were carried to Boston. This two-way trade by the New England merchants charted their route to riches, which their present-day descendants yet enjoy. China was the sole buyer of the otter and foreigners could have access to this market only through Canton. The New England to Canton run was initiated in 1796 by Ebenezer Dorr, Jr., master of the ship *Otter*, out of Boston, and the catalogue of Boston men and ships after this date is long. Though the Northwest fur trade was again attempted in 1815 by some old Boston firms, notably Bryant and Sturgis, profits were small. Between 1821 and 1830 the entire trade declined, and the vessels engaging in it became fewer.[48]

Matters other than the scarcity of the sea otter began to affect imports into the United States. The nankeen cotton fabrics of China were being replaced by better English and French substitutes. Beaver, rather than otter, became fashionable for hats. Chinaware was imitated by excellent English craftsmen who flooded the markets in New England with Royal Worcester. Fashion also decreed that silks were passe. Veblen was vindicated by early American conspicuous consumption.

William Sturgis, in a contemporary report on the fur trade, stated:

> In 1801, the trade was most extensively, though not most profitably, prosecuted; that year, there were 15 vessels on the coast, and in 1802 more than 15,000 sea otter skins were collected, and carried to Canton. But the competition was so great, that few of the voyages were then profitable, and some were ruinous. . . . The difficulties and uncertainty in procuring furs became so serious, that in 1829 the business north of California was abandoned.[49]

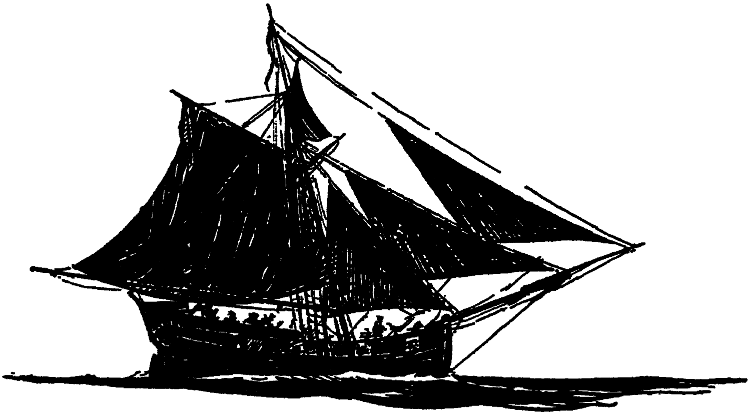
The ever-present hazards of the fur trade were intensified by the dangers of dealing with the oftentimes fierce tribes ashore. Terrible hardships seemed to be everywhere at once, and such conditions, Greenhow writes, "were not calculated to soften the feelings or to improve the morals of the traders."[50] Yet some delightful entries are to be found in the logbooks of the traders. The bitter loneliness of these early explorers was never so well expressed as in a passage from John Boit's account aboard the *Columbia* in 1791. While cruising off the Queen Charlotte Islands in quest of sea otter, Captain Robert Gray put ashore in order to bury Mr. Caswell, the second mate of the *Columbia*, who had been murdered by Indians. These Colonials, who were themselves writing the early history of our Pacific Northwest, noted:

> at 11 Capt Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we interd the remains of our departed and much beloved freind, with all the solemnity we was capable off. The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak whose lofty branches hung waving oer the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle and the weeping of his freinds added solemnity to the scene. So ends.[51]

The serenity of moonlit nights at anchor in the fragrant wooded harbors was a contrast to the turbulence of the sea voyage. Those readers who have known life aboard small ships at sea for months will have an idea of what the life of the fur traders must have been like. Confinement, release, incessant rolling, and the beauty of a calm sea are all well described by Conrad, Villiers, and Monsarrat. Be it a fur trader of the 1790's or the *Compass Rose* in 1940,[52] the sea around us and the men who sail it are unchanged. The tropical magnificence of winters in Hawaii gave place to the voyage to the bleak Northwest Coast. With their old canvas stretched and blocks creaking, the wooden ships pitched northward, once more at the peril of the elements. Such things as gales were commonplace and bad weather is scarcely mentioned in the journals—it was too chronic an affliction.

> All the forward part of her was under water [wrote Richard Dana], the sea pouring in through the bow ports and hawsehole and over the knightheads threatening to wash everything overboard. In the lee scuppers it was up to a man's waist. We sprang aloft and double reefed the topsails and furled all other sails, and made all snug. But this would not do; the brig was laboring and straining against the head sea; and the gale was growing worse and worse. At the same time sleet and hail were driving with all fury against us. . . . At daybreak the deck was covered with snow. The hail and sleet were harder than I had yet felt them; seeming almost to pin us to the rigging. We were longer taking in sail than ever before; for the sails were stiff and wet, the ropes and rigging covered with snow and sleet and we ourselves cold and nearly blinded with the violence of the storm. By the time we had got down upon deck again, the little brig was plunging madly into a tremendous head sea, which at every drive rushed in through the bow ports and over the bows, and buried all the forward part of the vessel.[53]

Such was the weather that produced wooden ships and iron men, though it was but one of the hazards of the maritime fur trade.



PRINCESA REAL

IV First Spanish Landings, 1775

This study of the first landings made by white men on the Olympic Peninsula and the identification of these landings includes three broad areas of information: first, the original source material, consisting of journals and charts of the Spanish explorers; second, the observations and conclusions of geographers and historians who have used these original sources; and third, a personal reconnaissance of the area and evaluation of all previous evidence by the author.

There are six original journals: those of Perez, Hezeta, Bodega, Mourelle, Fray Benito de la Sierra, and Fray Campa Cos.[1] There are three original charts, one compiled by Bodega and Mourelle and two by Hezeta.[2]

Among the geographers and historians who have investigated these first landings are Henry L. Oak (the writer of

Bancroft's two-volume *History of the Northwest Coast),* George Davidson, Robert Greenhow, Henry R. Wagner, and Edmond S. Meany. Other writers have been content to define place names in the vicinity without a thorough investigation of the original Spanish charts. Still others have alluded to the 1775 landings but without attempting to locate any area by name.

The Hezeta expedition sailed from San Blas on March 16, 1775, with orders from the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Bucareli y Ursula, to sail as far as 65° North latitude, exploring the coast to the south and taking formal possession in the name of His Catholic Majesty whenever it was deemed important by the commander. One year's supplies were stowed aboard. The leader of the expedition was Don Bruno Hezeta, who commanded the frigate *Santiago.* He was accompanied by the schooner *Sonora,* commanded by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.

On July 14, 1775, both ships anchored off the coast of Washington. At six o'clock that morning Hezeta, accompanied by his pilot, priest, surgeon, and twenty armed men, went ashore to take possession of the land. Bodega also dispatched a landing party from the *Sonora* consisting of Pedro Santa Anna, the boatswain, and six other men, all of whom were killed in an Indian attack. Near the spot where this massacre occurred, at the mouth of the Moclips River, there is a bank of moderate height which could well conceal the movements of the treacherous natives. For part of its course the stream, in approaching the beach, runs under this bluff.

As noted by Navarrete, this 1775 expedition of Hezeta's was an aid to the British as "the celebrated Cook, when he subsequently surveyed the same coasts in 1778, gratefully availed himself of the diary of this expedition."[3]

Mourelle, the second pilot aboard the *Sonora,* kept a tabulated record of his positions, which appears at the end of the translation in Barrington's *Miscellanies.*[4] The observed latitude of 47°20′ recorded by him places the *Sonora* just south of Point Grenville, if an allowance is made for an error of two minutes. This is the key to locating the anchorages of the *Santiago* and the *Sonora.* Almost all the latitude readings of Bodega erred by two or more minutes. This can easily be shown by a comparison of his and Mourelle's readings with the actual latitudes taken from a U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey chart. Henry R. Wagner, in his *Cartography of the Northwest Coast* (p. 178), made a comparison of longitude readings in this manner. He shows that there was an error made in the longitude figures. But this does not help much in placing the landings since a north and south identification is also required.

The following table shows the observed latitudes at four locations on the original Spanish charts and gives the actual reading, thus illustrating the margin of error.

BODEGA	HEZETA	MOURELLE	ACTUAL	LOCATION
47°30′	47°20′	47°28′	47°19′15″	Point Grenville
47°25′	47°25′	47°21′	47°15′55″	Moclips Roadstead
47°47′09″	47°50′15″	. . .	47°40′45″	Destruction Island
41°07′	41°06′	41°07′	41°03′	Trinidad Bay

As the frigate *Santiago* was in 47°25′ North latitude on July 14, the day of the landings, putting it north of the schooner *Sonora,* the author is of the opinion that the *Santiago* lay at anchor just south of Point Grenville, while the *Sonora* lay about three miles farther south in the immediate vicinity of or abeam the Moclips River. Sierra remarked that, "the frigate being to leeward, dropped anchor about a league away in an open roadstead," thus placing the vessels at least three miles apart.[5]

George Davidson was led to the conclusion that the landing from the *Santiago* took place one mile south of Point Grenville, but he was also of the opinion that the landing of seven crewmen from the *Sonora* occurred at the mouth of the Quinault River. He wrote,

> Point Grenville was first noticed in the second expedition of Don Bruno de Hezeta, in July, 1775, when the frigate Santiago of his command was in danger off the reef under Cape Elizabeth, and ran southward of the point about one mile when she anchored while the schooner was in trouble off the Quinault River. It was under the point that the frigate, being at anchor, took possession of the country "in the road". . . . The Quinault River opens into the deepest part of the bight behind this reef. . . . It was in this bight that Bodega in 1775 lost seven of his crew of sixteen off the schooner Sonora. When seeking for an anchorage he found himself passing over a reef and warned the frigate not to follow. The reef has been named after his vessel.[6]

Henry R. Wagner differs with Davidson regarding the landing from the *Sonora.* He says that the landing from the *Santiago* took place in the vicinity of Point Grenville, while that from the *Sonora* was at the mouth of the Moclips River.

> June 19, the vessels set sail in order to make northing had to stand off from the coast. Land was soon lost to sight and not seen again until July 11. The observed latitude that day was 48°26′. A flat island was discovered, and while a search for an anchorage was in progress the currents kept carrying the vessels to the south. They were somewhat separated on the 14th and here a boat's crew of the schooner, which was several miles to the south, was massacred by the Indians. A careful examination of this part of the coast which I made in 1933 convinced me that the boat landed at the mouth of the Moclips River. The latitude observed on the Santiago that day was 47°29′ and that of the anchorage was estimated to be 47°24′, which, allowing for four minutes excess in error, corresponds to that of Point Grenville.[7] That same day Hezeta landed and took possession of the country, naming the place "Rada de Bucareli." The point was named "Punta de los Martires," and the island in 47°41′ was subsequently named by Bodega, "Dolores."[8]

Robert Greenhow[9] confuses the issue by locating the massacre of the *Sonora* crew at Point Grenville, where there is no river at all, and neglecting to mention any landing from the *Santiago.* In Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast,* the *Santiago* anchorage is identified as being off Point Grenville, but no attempt has been made to locate the area where the crewmen from the *Sonora* went ashore, although the incident is described. Fuller[10] and Snowden[11] are content merely to mention a landing, describing it as being the first one on the coast of Washington, but adding nothing that would help to identify its location.

It is easy to understand why there is this confusion over the location of the ships, when one looks at the chart of the area. Within the space of only a few miles of each other, the region has two prominent headlands, both having rivers to the south.[12] Rocks project from the sea offshore, and to a casual observer it would be hard to tell at just which of these two similar locations the landings occurred, were it not for the observed latitudes recorded by members of the expedition. However, these latitudes have to be compared with actual modern measurements in order to get an idea of the direction and consistency of error. When this is done and a careful study is made of the charts of Bodega and Hezeta, the problem lends itself to solution.

An examination of the original charts gives much valuable information both as to the contour of the immediate coastline and the observed latitudes. The 1775 chart of Bodega[13] places the name "$^{\text{pta}}$ de los Martires" in 47°30′, which is only 1′ greater than the latitude written in his journal. His chart also places Destruction Island in 47°47′09″ which is 6′ higher than his journal. However, the charts are not diagramed on a true scale to begin with, so the degrees, and particularly the minutes, cannot be expected to do better than approximate the same locations recorded in the journal. (This will, of course, apply as well to most of the Spanish charts.) Recordings of latitude and longitude found in the logs and journals will usually be more accurate than the charts because of the limitations of cartographic knowledge in 1775. A noticeable improvement is to be found in the later Spanish charts of Bodega, Malaspina, Galiano, and Valdes, until a point is reached, with Vancouver, where only a very small error is incorporated in transposing to today's charts the readings of the logs and journals. In this early 1775 chart of Bodega there is no river indicated in the vicinity of the Point of the Martyrs, unless a short dark line at the point indicates a stream.

While the journal of Mourelle is valuable in certain particulars, the chart[14] which accompanies it is useless as far as the coast of Washington is concerned. This chart was originally drawn by publishers of the *London Magazine* in 1780 and was used by Barrington in his *Miscellanies* in 1781. The "I de Dolores" is shown only as a dot, and there are no place names given for the coast of Washington.

The 1775 chart of Bruno de Hezeta, who commanded the expedition, is the most valuable of all the cartographic references. It is the first chart showing the coast of Washington in any detail. It places the "Punta de los Martires" in 47°20′, which is very nearly correct, as the actual latitude is 47°19′15″. However, Hezeta shows Destruction Island in 47°50′15″, which is 9′30″ too high.

Charts of the 1785-88 voyage of Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse were published in 1797. As La Perouse had compared notes with Mourelle in Manila in either February or April 1787 and with Martinez at Monterey, the French chart of the Northwest Coast is significant.[15] However, since La Perouse did not see the Strait of Juan de Fuca on August 30, 1787, because of fog, it is doubtful if he saw much of the coast to the south until September 5, when he sighted Cape Blanco. Therefore, the writer believes that much of the information relating to the Pacific Coast from Cape Flattery to Monterey was either copied from Spanish maps or incorporated in the French charts with the aid of either Martinez or Mourelle or both. Even so, the Point Grenville area is clearly shown and is named "Anse des Martirs ou les Espagnols furent massacres on Juillet 1775."

Later documents are also important, particularly the 1791 chart by Bodega which shows the area as a small bay and gives two sentences of explanation which state, "Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra discovered the bay of the martyrs. He gave it this name because of the Indians having killed seven of his men."[16]

The next chart of Bodega's in which there is a description of this area is dated 1792. (This chart also shows the discoveries of the Malaspina expedition.) Bodega labels a small indentation in the coast the "Enseñada de los Martires" and places it in 47°25′.[17]

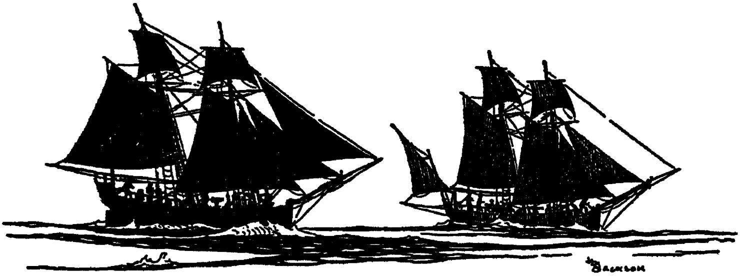
The chart of the Eliza expedition, which was drawn by the first pilot, Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, shows a large bay in 47°25′ labeled "Enseñada de los Martires."[18] This chart of Haro places the oversized bay in the exact location on the chart that was recorded in the journals of Mourelle and Bodega. But this information was undoubtedly added from a previous chart of Bodega, as no ship from the 1791 expedition of Francisco Eliza visited the coastal area south of Cape Flattery.

A copy of the chart of the 1793 Eliza-Martinez y Zayas expedition is the first to sketch and label a river to the north of Destruction Island.[19] Here is the earliest evidence to show why there is so much confusion regarding the 1775 landings. The material from the Zayas chart was later copied on other

Spanish charts. Zayas may thus have been the source of the ideas that the river so labeled must be the Hoh River and that the description of "Ens y Rio de los Martires" could mean only that the massacre of 1775 occurred at this spot. The river probably was the Hoh, but if he made no error in copying earlier Spanish charts, then Zayas was actually locating the 1787 murder of Barkley's men in the vicinity of the Hoh.[20] All previous charts and journals unmistakably locate the Moclips Roadstead as the location of the 1775 landings, and this chart of Zayas was drawn up some eighteen years after that date.

The Zayas 1793 chart shows a small point of land with a stream marked "Ens y Rio de los Martires," in 47°45′15″. The Hoh River is in 47°45′10″. A small island appears on the chart labeled "I de los Dolores" and is placed in 47°40′, which is also very nearly correct, as Destruction Island is actually in 47°40′45″ North latitude. This would seem to indicate the Hoh as a location of a massacre. It only remains to decide which massacre is meant. As before stated, either Zayas is referring to the murder of Captain Barkley's crew in 1787 or he made a mistake in transposing the information on Bodega's chart by moving the location to the north. This probably accounts for the fact that some contemporary historians have identified the mouth of the Hoh River with the 1775 massacre of the seven crewmen from the *Sonora.*

In 1905 Professor Edmond S. Meany examined that part of the coastline and came to the conclusion that the massacre of the *Sonora* crewmen took place at the mouth of the Hoh River.[21] The Hoh River is 5¼ miles north of Destruction Island and 31½ miles north of Point Grenville. However, much of the material on the Spanish explorations was not available to Meany in 1905. Henry R. Wagner has since brought most of these early documents to light, thus making available much more information regarding the Spanish discoveries on the Northwest Coast. It seems probable that the loss of Captain Barkley's boat crew in 1787 off the Hoh River, and the subsequent naming of Destruction Island by Vancouver in 1792, has been confused with the 1775 landings of the Spaniards at the Moclips River. The present writer is convinced that the two separate events occurred at different locations and should be marked as such.



V

Later Spanish Discoveries, 1790 and 1791

The landings of the Spaniards on July 14, 1775, at Point Grenville and the Moclips River, were the first on the Olympic Peninsula. However, no compass bearings were recorded or any large-scale charts drawn of that part of the coastline by members of the expedition. The small-scale charts of the expedition, which show the whole stretch of coast that was passed, do not give any details of the July 14 landing areas.

The later Spanish expeditions that explored the ports on the northern coast of the Olympic Peninsula are much easier to follow. Both Don Manuel Quimper and Don Francisco de Eliza, the commanders of the 1790 and 1791 expeditions, respectively, left detailed charts as well as compass bearings and diaries complete with dates and descriptions of each area explored. The Quimper expedition made large-scale charts of many of the places they discovered, and their charts of Discovery Bay, Dungeness Bay, and Neah Bay enable us to locate their positions accurately. Quimper also left descriptions in his diary of both Clallam Bay and Freshwater Bay, where they anchored. On the small-scale chart of the Eliza expedition, which includes the area explored in 1791, there is an inset of Port Angeles, which was first discovered at this time. At some locations anchors are shown on the Spanish charts. The information from the charts and the journals allows for an accurate transposition of the anchorages from the original Spanish charts to a U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart.

On May 31, 1790, Ensign Manuel Quimper left his Spanish base at Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island and began his voyage of exploration into the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He commanded the sloop *Princesa Real,*[1] having a complement of 41 men and 9 soldiers, with Gonzalo Lopez de Haro as first pilot and Juan Carrasco as second pilot. The commandant at Nootka, Don Juan Francisco de Eliza, had given Quimper but two months in which to make the cruise. The sloop anchored in Clayoquot Sound on June 1, and it remained there until June 10. Quimper then set course for Port San Juan, arriving there on the 11th. Leaving Port San Juan on June 15, Quimper made this entry in his diary: "I made sail continuing my course for the inside of the strait, towing the longboat and two large canoes which I purchased with the king's copper, having in view their usefulness in the exploration, as they would serve as efficacious adjuncts in the indispensable tasks which were to be expected."[2]

At three o'clock in the afternoon of June 15, Quimper anchored off Muir Creek in Orveas Bay on Vancouver Island.

On the 16th he anchored about one mile to the east in Sooke Bay, where the Indians told him that a still larger port was to be found four miles to the east of their position. On the 19th the sloop dropped anchor in Sooke Bay[3] and the two pilots spent the next four days in drawing up plans of Sooke Basin and Sooke Harbor.

Because of bad weather the vessel was not able to get under way until June 28. Sailing past Becher Bay and Church Point, the expedition sighted Race Rocks, passing between them and Bentinck Island until they reached Pedder Bay. Here they stopped just before noon, where Quimper wrote in his diary, "At 11:30 when in a large and beautiful roadstead, which I named 'Eliza,' I anchored with the port anchor in 11 fathoms in muddy sand, having previously furled the sails."[4] The two pilots were again sent out to investigate the present William Head and Albert Head which Quimper called "Santo Domingo" and "San Miguel," respectively. The present Parry Bay between the points he named "Rada de Solano," after a contemporary Spanish naval officer. On June 30 Quimper took the longboat into the present Royal Roads, where he took possession in the name of the King of Spain, Carlos IV. Quimper called the Roads the "Rada de Valdes y Bazan" in honor of the then Minister of the Spanish Marine, Antonio Valdes y Bazan. At this anchorage the Indians again proved a valuable source of information to the expedition, and in his diary Quimper tells about questioning some of them.

> After having made them some presents I asked them if there was a channel towards the east part of the strait. They answered with entirely understandable signs, that there was a very large and wide one which trended somewhat towards the northwest, and that at the end of the range of mountains on the south coast there was another like it. They made a sign that this trended towards the southwest.[5]

Fog and lack of wind delayed their departure until July 4, when Quimper again got under way and headed across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, "for the purpose of finding out if the news which the Indians had given me was true, that there was a wide channel which trended to the southwest."[6] At two o'clock in the afternoon New Dungeness was sighted. When about four miles offshore, Quimper sighted the bluff cliff behind the beginning of Dungeness Spit, and to this headland he gave the name "Punta de Santa Cruz."

An hour or so later he sighted the present Observatory Point and called it "Punta de Salvi."[7] Looking toward the easternmost end of the strait where it ends on the west of Whidbey Island, Quimper gave this body of water the name "Seno de Santa Rosa." At 4:30 that afternoon they approached Dungeness Sandspit, and Quimper continued on into the present Dungeness Bay,

> for the purpose of anchoring inside the bay, with the lead in hand and a lookout in the top. At 6:30, when in 8½ fathoms of water, bottom of hard mud, I had all the sails furled and dropped the starboard anchor, distant from the coast about half a mile. The point of the tongue of flat land bore N 18° W (of the compass) distant about 1½ miles.

This anchorage is not difficult to identify. The average growth of the spit since 1855 is known to be 14 feet per year. The distances recorded by Quimper from the mainland and the sandspit place his anchorage as indicated on the chart.

The next day was spent trading with the Indians and replenishing the ship's water supply by filling their casks at the Dungeness River. Juan Carrasco, the second pilot, was sent on a reconnaissance mission toward the east to examine two points and "to see if these formed the channel for which I was hunting on the information from the Indians." At ten o'clock that night Carrasco returned in the longboat, having sighted the present Point Wilson, Protection Island,[8] Rosario

Strait,[9] and Deception Pass.[10] Quimper evidently gave no name to Point Wilson and decided that behind it lay only a small bay to which he gave the name of "Ensenada de Caamaño," after Jacinto Caamaño, a fellow Spanish naval officer.

July 6 and 7 were spent in further trading with the Indians and in drawing up a plan of the present Dungeness Bay, which the commander of the expedition named after himself, "Puerto de Quimper." The Indians in this bay were friendly and brought out in their canoes to the *Princesa Real* "fish, fresh venison, salmon berries, baskets of Neda, blankets, mats and skins to exchange with the people on the vessel."

On July 8 Quimper landed to take formal possession of the bay. While the participants in these ceremonies of possession were few, the procession was a solemn one and full of deep religious significance. Here, in the midst of savages, this small group of Spaniards was all that represented the cultural heritage of Europe. Quimper writes of the ceremony:

> At 5:30 having armed the longboat and the two canoes I embarked with the second pilot in order to take possession. This I effected, planting the Holy Cross close to a pine, on which another was made by cutting the bark. At the foot of this the bottle of possession was buried, all the ceremonies which the instructions prescribe being performed. The tree is very noticeable for standing alone and close to the beach. The point of the tongue of flat land at the entrance of the bay was marked from it at N 48° W (of the compass). I named the bay and the port "Quimper."

From observations made during visits to this area in the summers of 1952 and 1953 the writer is of the opinion that the present Indian town of Jamestown stands at the spot where Quimper on his Plano indicates a rancheria. Also applying the same deviation error of 18° East that I used for

Vancouver's anchorage at Dungeness Bay, which occurred but two years later, the bearing of Quimper N 48° taken from his cross on the beach to the sandspit equals 330° True. This line, when plotted on the chart, should locate the position of the buried bottle of possession on the beach about one mile to the north of the present Kulakala Point. An even closer identification is had when measuring from the present Indian village of Jamestown. It seems probable that the spot of Spanish possession is about 100 feet south of the house belonging to Wilfred Johnson of Jamestown.

On July 11 the longboat reconnoitered the present Discovery Bay and returned to the sloop with a description of it. On July 13 Quimper ordered Lopez de Haro and Carrasco

> to make a plan of the port which had been discovered to the south of the Isla de Carrasco and to put up a cross in the most conspicuous part of it. At 9:30 they came back and told me that they had planted the Holy Cross on a sand point in front of the port, the most southerly and westerly one which can be seen when entering the mouth. There is a stream of delicious water in it which comes down apparently from a mountain behind it. The port they said, can hold many vessels by reason of its size and shelter. The country although somewhat high is level. I have named it "Quadra."[11]

The Plano labeled "Puerto de la Bodega y Cuadra" shows that the point where possession was taken was the present Carr Point. This was the same point on which Vancouver landed and set up his astronomical tents two years later in 1792. The name "Rio de la Cruz" on the Plano of Haro indicates the same stream found on the point by Vancouver, which he renamed Observatory Point.

Since Quimper had to return to Nootka by August 15, he soon began making preparations to leave his anchorage at Dungeness Bay. On July 18 sail was set for a return voyage to the northern side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. That same night the sloop anchored in the Royal Roads. Here Quimper named the present Gonzales Point "Punta de San Gonzalo." On July 20 Quimper sent his two pilots in to survey the port, which contained "some delicious water," and he named it "Puerto de Cordova" in honor, probably, of Luis de Cordova. This is the present Esquimalt Harbor, and the name given by Quimper has been moved by the Hudson's Bay Company officers to the bay just north of Victoria on Haro Strait. Quimper found on this second visit that the Indians had carried away the cross which he had erected on the beach June 30.

On the morning of July 21 the sloop headed out of the Royal Roads and sailed by Albert Head and Pedder Bay, both of which were noted by Quimper in his diary. Once more the strait was crossed to the southern shore. Recording a bearing in his diary when again sighting the Olympic Peninsula, Quimper noted point "Salvi," the present Observatory Point. On this day his diary reads,

> At 10, when in a small bay to the east of Punta de Salvi, in 22 fathoms of water, bottom small shells, small snail shells and coral, distant from land about ½ mile, I furled the sails and dropped the port anchor, as the tide, which was running at the rate of 3½ miles, was carrying me inside with much force. The Puerto de Revilla Gigedo [Sooke Inlet] bore N 38° W, the Punta de Salvi [Observatory Point] bore S 84° W, and the most northwesterly part of the north coast in sight N 74° W, distant from the second about 1½ miles.

Once more a search was made to locate water for the casks. When questioned about this, the Indians showed the Spaniards a spot which gave them "delicious water, taken from a beautiful stream." This anchorage, as indicated by the author on the chart, is in the present Freshwater Bay, and the stream mentioned by Quimper is the Elwha River.

On July 22 the *Princesa Real* weighed and made sail on a course W ¼ NW. At 1:30 the tide coming in with much strength,

> and having 17 fathoms of water, sand and small shells, I furled the sails and dropped the port anchor. The north point [Pillar Point] of the Enseñada de Soto Aguilar[12] bore N 77° W, that of Salvi[13] N 80° E, and the most westerly part of the north coast in sight N 69° W (all of the compass), distant from the first about a mile.

These bearings place the anchorage in the small bay just east of Pillar Point about one mile. This small indentation in the coast Quimper called "Enseñada de Soto Aguilar." This same night anchor was weighed, and with the aid of a boat ahead towing some progress was made to the west. As the morning of the 23rd of July dawned, the sloop was approaching Clallam Bay. Quimper then recorded in his diary that "At 10:45 when in 22 fathoms bottom small shells and heavy sand, I furled the sails and dropped the port anchor in a small bay sheltered from the winds of the second and third quarters. I named this 'Enseñada de Rojas' [Clallam Bay]. The Punta de Benites [Beechey Head] bore N 65° E and that of Salvi [Striped Peak] N 87° E (all of the compass)." This is the first occasion the author has noted where the Indians towed an explorer's vessel into an anchorage. Quimper describes the incident in his diary. "Ten canoes of Indian men and two of Indian women towed me to my anchorage in the bay." This anchorage in Clallam Bay is located just ½ mile west of Slip Point and outside of the present bell buoy. It is remarkable how the two long bearings of Quimper check out on the chart. The Beechey Head sight made by Quimper is 24¼ miles distant and Striped Peak 23¾ miles distant. Probably a long glass was used by Quimper to make these sights, but it is never mentioned in the diary. Even some of Vancouver's bearings do not plot out so accurately as do Manuel Quimper's.

Early on July 24 the *Princesa Real* caught a fresh wind and sailed to the northwest of Clallam Bay. A course was then set for a port that was described to Quimper by the Indians as "the bay formed by the south point of the entrance to the strait." At 7:45 Quimper sighted Waadah Island. This entrance into Neah Bay is described in his diary.

> At 8:45 being quite at the entrance, I ordered the gallant sail and topsail to be furled. At 9, when as far as the island and inside points, I furled all the sails and let the port anchor drop in 5 fathoms of water, sand and small shells, with the idea of working into the interior of the bay, which is the form that it has, as soon as the tide should set in to it, as at the moment, it was setting in the strait. . . . At 6, there being no wind and the tide having stopped running, I stretched three warps for the purpose of mooring in the interior of the bay. This I accomplished at 9:30 at night, in 7 fathoms of water, fine sand, the Puerto de San Juan[14] bearing N 16° E, and the most northerly part of the island in front of us and which make two entrances into this bay N N E (all of the compass), distant from the island about one mile.

This anchorage as shown on the chart is located about ¼ mile to the northeast of the present Indian village of Neah Bay.

At Neah Bay the expedition had some trouble with the Indians and one of Quimper's soldiers was wounded. However, the majority of the Indians were cooperative and engaged in active trading with the vessel. On August 1 a plan was drawn of the bay, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon Quimper went ashore to

> take possession of it with all the ceremonies which the instructions prescribe, had a cross planted close to the river and the bottle buried at the foot of a huge pine behind the cross. This pine bears N N E[15] (of the compass) with the most northerly part of the island. At 3 I returned, three salutes of musketry having been fired on shore, under my orders. The sloop answered with twenty-one shots. I bestowed on this bay the name "Nuñez Gaona."[16]

The sloop *Princesa Real* lay here until August 3, when a course was set NW ¼ N "to clear a reef of rocks which extends out from the most western point of the bay, which I named 'Rada'."[17] The wind and tide being adverse to any further progress, the vessel again anchored. On the 4th she cleared the strait, and on August 10 stood off the entrance to Nootka. However, being unable to enter because of bad weather, Quimper held a conference with both pilots, and they decided to set a course for the Spanish base at Monterey, where they arrived on September 1, 1790. The ship anchored here until October 25, when in company with another Spanish vessel, the *San Carlos,* all sail was set for Mexico. Both vessels arrived at the port of San Blas on November 13, 1790.[18]

The last exploration of the Olympic Peninsula by the Spaniards was made by the Eliza expedition in 1791. After Quimper returned to San Blas, the viceroy of New Spain, Conde de Revilla-Gigedo, ordered Juan Francisco de Eliza to lead another expedition to the Northwest Coast, continuing explorations out of the Spanish base at Nootka. Eliza, commanding the packetboat *San Carlos,* was accompanied by Jose Maria Narvaez, commanding the schooner *Santa Saturnina,* with Juan Carrasco as his pilot. Aboard the *San Carlos* as first pilot was Juan Pantoja y Arriaga and, as second pilot, Jose Verdia. The vessels left Nootka on May 4, 1791, headed to the north, and attempted to start their explorations in 60°. But bad weather prohibited any progress in this direction, so Eliza then set his course for Clayoquot Sound. The two vessels reached the sound on May 7 and made extensive surveys of the area.

On May 21 the schooner *Santa Saturnina* put in to explore the present Barkley Sound, while the *San Carlos* continued into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, arriving at Esquimalt on May 29. The schooner reached Esquimalt on June 11, and under the command of Pantoja explorations were made in the San

Juan Islands.[19] On June 28 both vessels set a course for the southern shore of the strait and anchored in Discovery Bay on June 29. From here, on July 1, Narvaez was dispatched to reconnoiter the waterways surrounding the San Juan Archipelago. He examined the present Rosario Strait,[20] part of the Gulf of Georgia,[21] and Haro Strait. He noticed a large opening previously seen by Carrasco, of Quimper's expedition in 1790, the present Admiralty Inlet. Eliza changed the name from "Enseñada de Caamaño," which appeared on Quimper's chart, to "Boca de Caamaño." On July 22 the schooner and the longboat returned to Discovery Bay and reported their explorations to Eliza, particularly their findings in the present Georgia Strait, where they had seen many whales. Eliza correctly surmised, "I think they must come in by some other way since during the two months which I have passed in Fuca the crew has scarcely seen three or four." The next year his suspicions of an opening to Georgia Strait other than the Strait of Juan de Fuca were confirmed when Vancouver, followed by Galiano and Valdes, successfully circumnavigated Vancouver Island.

Eliza also felt that the last hope of any discovery of the mythical Northwest Passage lay in further explorations of Georgia Strait, and in his extract of the voyage he stated, "I assure your Excellency [the viceroy of New Spain] that the passage to the Atlantic Ocean, which the foreign nations search for with such diligence on this coast, cannot in my opinion, if there be one, be found in any other part; it is either, I think, by this great canal, or it is a continent."[22]

The two vessels left Discovery Bay early in the morning of August 1[23] and anchored at 10:30 that same morning in Dungeness Bay. The next day they entered the present Port Angeles harbor which Eliza named "Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles," after the saint's day of celebration. This port was described by Eliza as being "very much sheltered for any large vessel and is 15 miles west of the Bahia Quimper [Dungeness Bay]."

No bearings are given in the extract of the voyages by either Eliza, Pantoja, or Carrasco relating to their anchorages in Port Angeles. The best description of the port is contained in the account of Juan Carrasco.

> The other days up to August 2nd we consumed in reaching the entrance to the Puerto de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, distant about 10 or 12 miles from the Bahia Quimper and on the same side of the strait. This port was discovered that day and was found on making a plan of it[24] to be a league long and wide, and a long mile wide at the entrance, sheltered from all winds and with good anchorage.

The expedition reached Neah Bay on August 7. It left the area on August 11, the *San Carlos* anchoring in Nootka Sound on August 29 and the *Santa Saturnina* entering Monterey on September 15, 1791.

Though both Quimper in 1790 and Eliza in 1791 had explored the Strait of Juan de Fuca, neither of the Spaniards had sent vessels southward to reconnoiter Admiralty Inlet, though they were aware of the opening. The second pilot of Quimper's expedition, Juan Carrasco, had sighted Admiralty Inlet (which Quimper named "Enseñada de Caamaño") on July 5, 1790, and the Eliza expedition of 1791 had noted the same opening.

Galiano and Valdes, in the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1792, only one month after Vancouver had sailed into the entrance to the strait. However, while the Spaniards were aware of the existence of the opening into Admiralty Inlet, they did not venture to explore it at once but intended to investigate it (and other inlets which they considered to be of small importance) on their way back through the strait. This they did not do, as they met the Vancouver expedition and continued northward around Vancouver Island. Upon meeting Vancouver, they learned that he had already made an extensive survey of the area to the south of Admiralty Inlet and this may have discouraged the Spaniards from any further investigation. A passage from the journals kept by Galiano and Valdes is interesting on this point.

> Although Ensign Don Manuel Quimper had surveyed as far as Puerto de Quadra and First Lieutenant Don Francisco Eliza as far as Canal de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the preceding years, they had not examined Bocas de Caamaño and Flon, the Seno de Gaston, Canal de Floridablanca, nor the Bocas de Carmelo and Mazarredo. According to the information they had obtained from the Indians the Boca de Caamaño ran inland a long way but its depth only allowed the passage of canoes. That of Flon was of very little consequence. They considered, although with some hesitancy, that the Seno de Gaston was closed and suggested as the most interesting survey that of Boca de Floridablanca. . . .
>
> With such information we proposed to penetrate inland so as to finish the examination of Seno de Gaston and go on to survey Canal de Floridablanca, leaving the Bocas de Caamaño and Flon as of less importance and more suitable to be surveyed on our way back in case we should have to retrace our course which we thought probable. The direction of the Canal de Caamaño was southerly and the probability that it would come out in the Boca de Ezeta near lat. 46°14′ was another consideration we had before us in adopting this plan.[25]

Here we have one of the explanations why the Spaniards did not enter Admiralty Inlet. It must always be kept in mind that both the English and the Spanish were searching for a possible connection by water with Hudson's Bay or the Atlantic Ocean—the chimerical Northwest Passage—and any means to facilitate this quest were at once adopted. Other reasons why the various Spanish expeditions failed to find Puget Sound are given by Wagner in his *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca:*

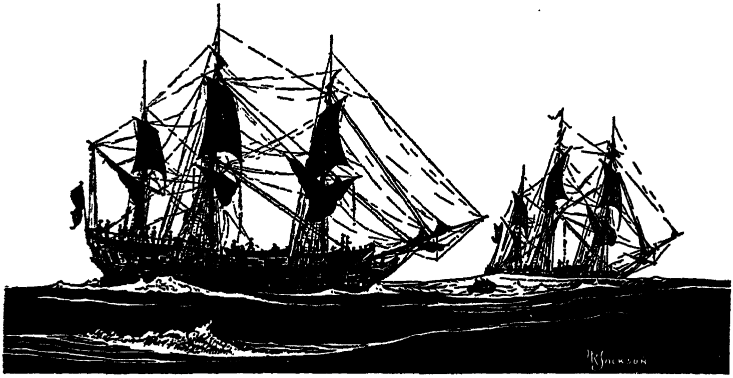
> Here it may be proper to speculate as to the reasons for Galiano and Valdes beginning their explorations at this point instead of examining the Boca de Caamaño, that is Admiralty Inlet, at the southeastern end of the Strait. In their letter to the viceroy of October 23 no reason is given, but in the account published in 1802 it is stated that the Indians had given them to understand that this passage was only navigable by canoes. They had the account of Eliza's exploration and his maps and could not fail to see that Eliza considered the inlet of some importance. . . .

The reason Eliza gave for not investigating the inlet in 1791 is that he was in a hurry to complete his surveys and was running out of food.

Wagner continues his comments regarding the failure of the Spaniards to find Puget Sound and their preoccupation with the San Juan Island area:

> The reason for proceeding to first explore the Boca de Floridablanca was, I think, the appearance of the country. They were looking for a continuation of the Strait towards the east and in the account of 1802 it is distinctly stated that a large opening in the mountains seen here to the east by Eliza's expedition gave hopes that the passage existed in that vicinity. Enough was known of the trend of Admiralty Inlet to cast doubts on that being the passage for which they were searching. Indeed at this time the Spaniards had some idea that Admiralty Inlet connected with the Pacific in the neighborhood of the Columbia River, one derived no doubt from the Buache-Delisle maps then in use.

Thus were concluded the great Spanish discoveries made within the state of Washington. We may only speculate upon what the results might have been for a permanent Spanish occupancy of the Northwest Coast had the viceroys in the preceding years been as capable as the Conde de Revilla-Gigedo.



DISCOVERY COLUMBIA

VI Captain George Vancouver, 1792

The British Admiralty, in 1791, commissioned George Vancouver as commander of an expedition to survey the Northwest Coast of North America from the 30th latitude to the north and also to proceed to Nootka Sound to meet with the Spanish representative, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, for the purpose of carrying out the terms of the Nootka Convention, which was signed in Madrid on October 27, 1790. George Vancouver commanded the sloop H.M.S. *Discovery* with 20 guns and 100 men as a complement, and was accompanied by the H.M.S. *Chatham*, an armed tender with 10 guns and a complement of 45 men, commanded by Lieutenant William R. Broughton. The little expedition left Falmouth, England, on April 1, 1791, passed around the

Cape of Good Hope to southwestern Australia (New Holland), New Zealand, Tahiti (Otaheite), and then to the Hawaiian Islands (Sandwich Islands), where they spent the winter.

On March 16, 1792, the H.M.S. *Discovery* and the *Chatham* sailed for the Pacific Northwest Coast. On April 17 Vancouver passed Cape Mendocino on the coast of California. The vessels now sailed northward up the coast of Oregon, where Vancouver named Cape Orford (now called Cape Blanco). On April 27 they reached the north promontory of the mouth of the Columbia River. Here they recognized Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay, previously named by John Meares. At this time, however, Vancouver failed to identify the mouth of the Columbia River. During the following night the vessels sailed past Grays Harbor, and on the morning of April 28 a point on the coast of Washington was sighted and named Point Grenville by Captain Vancouver. At noon of the same day the ships sighted Destruction Island and the Olympic Mountains. That night both ships anchored five miles off the Washington coast and three miles to the south of Destruction Island.[1] Here Vancouver mentioned the fact that John Meares and other traders had visited an inlet (Strait of Juan de Fuca), which Vancouver said "was not more than 20 leagues distant."[2]

Early the next morning, April 29, the ships weighed anchor and sailed northward. Soon they sighted a sail, the first they had seen in eight months. The vessel hoisted American colors, fired a gun to leeward, and at 6 A.M. they spoke to her. She proved to be the *Columbia,* commanded by Captain Robert Gray. Hoping to secure "information as might be serviceable in our future operations," Vancouver sent Peter Puget and Archibald Menzies aboard. They assured Gray that they were interested in exploration and not in fur trading and Gray, apparently satisfied, gave them to understand that he was headed south along the coast. After questioning Gray about his exploration of Juan de Fuca Strait, the British continued northward, reaching Cape Flattery about noon. Here Vancouver sighted and named Duncan Rock. Proceeding into the strait, the ships sailed in past Neah Bay. The harbor was too small to answer the purpose of refitting, and during the afternoon the weather became increasingly rainy and unpleasant. About seven in the evening the ships anchored "about 8 miles within the entrance on the southern shore of the supposed straits of de Fuca," and about a mile offshore.

Gray, meanwhile, contrary to his announced intentions, turned north again and followed the British ships into the strait, where a number of Indians came off and engaged him in fur trading. Menzies was quite incensed by this action; he wrote in his journal:

> The commander of her [*Columbia*] did not put much confidence in what we told him of our pursuit, but had probably taken us for rivals in trade and followed us into the Streights to have his share in the gleanings of the Village at the entrance, & this is conformable to the general practice among traders on this Coast, which is always to mislead competitors as far as they can even at the expence of truth.[3]

The bearings relating to the first anchorage of the H.M.S. *Discovery* check out very well, especially the sights taken on San Juan Point and Pillar Point. Those bearings pertaining to the northernmost extent of the strait can only be approximate. However, the dead reckoning distances are comparatively accurate due to the many reference points given in succession, such as the strait's entrance, the Indian village, Neah Bay, and Waadah Island. The distances given in miles from the strait's entrance, Waadah Island, and the closest land place the anchorage exactly as indicated on the chart.

The next day, April 30, the vessels advanced eastward through the strait. A gentle wind from the northwest brought clear, pleasant weather and good views. During the afternoon Joseph Baker, third lieutenant on the *Discovery*, sighted a lofty mountain off to the northeast which Vancouver in compliment named Mount Baker, after him. It was, as Vancouver observed, "a very conspicuous object, bearing by compass N. 43° E., apparently at a very remote distance," which stood out boldly above the line of the Cascades. At five that evening the ships approached a sandspit. This Vancouver named New Dungeness, "from its great resemblance to Dungeness in the British channel." Behind the spit on the south side the ships found shelter and anchored at the spot shown on the chart.

The most accurate bearings on this second anchorage are those on Protection Island, Cape George, and the bluff cliff overlooking Dungeness Spit. During a visit by the author to this area, both Protection Island and Cape George were clearly outlined late in the afternoon. The bearing on the low sandy point (Dungeness Spit), which ordinarily should be the best sight, can only be considered approximate since the length of the spit has undoubtedly changed considerably over the period of one hundred and sixty-one years.

According to surveys made at various times by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the spit has been increasing in length at the rate of approximately 14 feet per year. This information, when applied to Vancouver's bearing line on the sandspit, moves that bearing back about 2,200 feet from where the end of the spit was in 1953. This measurement also serves to confirm the sight made by Quimper, when he took possession in 1790.

Vancouver's depth readings at the New Dungeness anchorage are of little value to the modern navigator. The

Dungeness River, though relatively small, is continually building up mud flats in the bay, and most of the bottom is composed of shifting sand and mud. Even at other locations where Vancouver's fathom readings are more useful in the identification of positions, the soundings as taken from the journals are only approximate. We are not told whether they were taken at high or low tide, and the variations in depths may be as much as three fathoms.

Two pleasant days were spent by the expedition at anchor in the present Dungeness Bay while the *Discovery's* cutter and the *Chatham's* yawl put off with a day's provisions to examine the surrounding area. During this survey Vancouver, who was aboard the small cutter, found a harbor to the eastward which he decided to use for his next anchorage. In front of this harbor's mouth lay a small island. The explorers landed at the west end, climbed an almost perpendicular cliff to the top of it, and then looked out over "a landscape, almost as enchantingly beautiful as the most elegantly finished pleasure grounds in Europe." Vancouver named the place Protection Island.

The next morning, May 2, the two ships left New Dungeness, with "a light pleasant breeze" filling the sails. It was a beautiful morning, and Vancouver described it in glowing terms.

> A light pleasant breeze springing up, we weighed on wednesday morning, and steered for the port we had discovered the preceding day, whose entrance about 4 leagues distant bore S.E. by E. The delightful serenity of the weather greatly aided the beautiful scenery that was now presented; the surface of the sea was perfectly smooth, and the country before us exhibited every thing that bounteous nature could be expected to draw into one point of view. As we had no reason to imagine that this country had ever been indebted for any of its decorations to the hand of man, I could not possibly believe that any uncultivated country had ever been discovered exhibiting so rich a picture.

By noon they were within the entrance of the harbor which Vancouver had noted the previous day and which he named Port Discovery, after his ship. At the mouth of a stream flowing into the bay from the west, they anchored "in 34 fathoms, muddy bottom, about a quarter of a mile from the shore." Vancouver and Baker considered Port Discovery to be a fine anchorage from a military standpoint and thought that Protection Island would provide a good defense, when fortified, against any opposing fleet.

The best contemporary description of Port Discovery appears in the logbook kept by Joseph Baker, an officer on the *Discovery.*

> This Harbour of which I have annexed the Survey (made by Mr. Whidbey Master) may be reckoned a most excellent one, & is capable of being well defended, the Island in front of it, being so happily situated, that if properly fortified, it might command the entrance of the Port with the greatest ease and defend it from a very considerable force. The only disadvantage it has (if indeed that may be so called) is the depth of water in which you anchor, there being no less, (Except towards the head of it, and close to the Shores) than from 30 to 35 fms. The land is of Modt. height & well wooded, with some beautiful green banks on each side thickly imprinted with the tracks of Deer & other animals. The soil appears tolerably good & the Skirts of the woods are lined with Gooseberry bushes &c. &c. . . . we left a small Garden with a variety of seeds sown in it, near to the place, where our tents were pitched, but as the situation did not appear to be well chosen am apprehensive it will not be very productive; there are several runs of fresh water, that near which we anchored, is by much the largest & the best.[4]

Later the Englishmen learned the the Spaniards had visited the place the year before and had named it Port Quadra. The botanist Archibald Menzies deplored "that confusion of names which are but too common in new discovered countries" and favored adopting the Spanish nomenclature. Vancouver felt otherwise, however, and the English name has persisted.

The bearings which identify the anchorage are found in the log of Peter Puget; they are the only two lines plotted on the chart. However, Vancouver's journal is also quoted. Both Vancouver's and Humphries' charts show a small anchor off the present Carr Point, and there can be no doubt that this is where the anchorage was made.

The ships lay at Port Discovery from May 2 to May 18, refitting and making repairs. It was a busy scene, the officers and men being assigned to a number of different tasks. One party of marines accompanied the timekeepers ashore with tents and instruments and set up an astronomical observatory. Other shore parties cut wood and brewed spruce beer, which protected the men from scurvy. Sailmakers set to repairing the main topsails, while seamen worked on the masts and rigging. The cooper put the water casks in condition; carpenters caulked the seams of the *Chatham* and stopped a leak in the *Discovery's* bow. Some of the men tried their hand at fishing, though they did better to bargain for fish and venison with visiting groups of Indians, who willingly accepted buttons and small pieces of copper in payment. Baker, who remained with the ships, faithfully recorded these varied activities which were so necessary a part of the routine of refitting after a long ocean voyage.

In the meantime Vancouver, James Johnstone, and Peter Puget took three small boats and explored the coast to the east and south as far as the southernmost point of Hood Canal. During this survey the explorers sighted many now familiar landmarks and waterways which were later named by Vancouver, including Point Wilson, Port Townsend, Admiralty Inlet, Marrowstone Island, Oak Bay, Foulweather Bluff, Hazel Point, and Hood Canal. They also sighted for the first time a mountain which they later named Mount Rainier. Menzies, who accompanied them, identified in the woods a new species of arbutus which he named the *Arbutus glaucous* and which is now called, in his honor, the *Arbutus menziesii.* This is the beautiful madrona tree so familiar to residents of the Pacific Northwest. Menzies also noted the presence of the *Rhododendron macrophyllum,* which has become the state flower of Washington. He says of it in his journal, "We also met here pretty frequent in the Wood with that beautiful Native of the Levant the purple Rododendron, together with the great flowered Dogwood. . . ." On the afternoon of May 15 the explorers returned to Port Discovery, as Menzies confessed, "wet, hungry, & uncomfortable."

On May 18 Vancouver ordered the *Chatham* to explore the area to the northward while the *Discovery* proceeded into Admiralty Inlet.[5] The ships were to make their next rendezvous in the first inlet to the southeastward of Foulweather Bluff, on the starboard shore. Leaving the *Chatham,* the *Discovery* entered Admiralty Inlet and anchored off the present Bush Point. This was the first time that white men had entered what is now known as Puget Sound.

Both bearings of Vancouver relating to his fourth anchorage off Bush Point accurately place his ship as indicated on the chart. Clear sights may be taken from this location. Both Marrowstone Point and the northeast point of Oak Bay are well outlined when observed on a clear day from Bush Point. Here, too, the beauty of the land stirred Vancouver's imagination.

> To describe the beauties of this region, will, on some future occasion, be a very grateful task to the pen of a skilful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with villages, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined; whilst the labour of the

inhabitants would be amply rewarded, in the bounties which nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation.

On Saturday morning at 9 o'clock the *Discovery* weighed anchor and sailed to the south toward the rendezvous.

The fifth and sixth anchorages are of particular interest to Seattle citizens since they are located three miles west of Alki Point just off the southeastern point of Bainbridge Island, which Vancouver named Restoration Point. This marked the southernmost limit for the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* in their exploration of Puget Sound. From here the small boats were once again dispatched to continue the general survey of the area to the south. The *Discovery* anchored on Saturday, May 19, almost in midchannel between Blake and Bainbridge islands. At 4 o'clock the next morning, Lieutenant Puget and Joseph Whidbey were ordered to proceed southward in the launch and cutter, taking Menzies with them.

Soon after they left, a strong tide (flowing out of the present Rich Passage) made the anchorage untenable, and Vancouver moved the *Discovery* to a point about half a mile offshore from Bainbridge Island. The *Chatham* joined him there on May 25, having completed a reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands. On the 28th the *Chatham* again sailed north into Possession Sound. She anchored off Elliot Point and awaited the *Discovery* there. The *Discovery* remained at Restoration Point until May 30, while the small boats completed their survey of the area.

During these surveys, which are recorded at length by Vancouver and Menzies, many permanent names were given to the region. A full week was spent by the small boats in their survey. As they rowed to the south they went through Colvos Passage. At noon on May 20 they caught sight of Mount Rainier, which loomed up just behind Commencement Bay. Menzies was greatly impressed by the mountain ranges in this area. He wrote,

> Up this Bay we had a most charming prospect of Mount Rainier which now appeared close to us though at least 10 or 12 leagues off, for the low land at the head of the Bay swelled out very gradually to form a most beautiful & majestic Mountain of great elevation whose line of ascent appeared equally smooth & gradual on every side with a round obtuse summit covered two thirds of its height down with perpetual Snow as were also the summits of a rugged ridge of Mountains that proceeded from it to the Northward.

Lieutenant Puget in the launch, who commanded the party, together with Mr. Whidbey in the cutter, next passed through the present Tacoma Narrows and continued as far south as Olympia, exploring various inlets on the way. On their return to Restoration Point they rowed northward up the main channel to the east of Vashon Island, subsequently named by Vancouver after his friend in the British navy, Captain James Vashon.

On May 24 Vancouver named Port Orchard after the clerk aboard the *Discovery,* H. M. Orchard, who had first explored it. Vancouver and Joseph Baker in the yawl, accompanied by Mr. Johnstone in the *Chatham's* cutter, explored part of the same area covered by Puget and Whidbey. "Thus by our joint efforts," reads his journal, "we had completely explored every turning of this extensive inlet; and to commemorate Mr. Puget's exertions, the south extremity of it I name PUGET'S SOUND."

It may be observed in passing that the first usage of the term Puget Sound was much more narrowly limited geographically than is the present usage. The name is now applied, by many residents of the Pacific Northwest and by most other people in the country, to the entire inland waterway up to the Canadian border. However, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey offers a definition which includes all waters south of Admiralty Head. Their statement on this point deserves quotation:

> From an original limited application, the name Puget Sound has come to have a generally accepted wider application to all waters running southeastward from the eastern end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca beginning at a line from Point Wilson to Admiralty Head. The only uncertainty is the northeastern limit of the Sound on the east side of Whidbey Island, where it is difficult to give a precise delimitation. It would seem that Possession Sound, Saratoga Passage, Port Gardner and Everett Harbor, and Port Susan should be considered as parts of Puget Sound. This wider application of the name is based upon the consideration that the presence of an island, such as Whidbey, within a coastal indentation would not change the geographic limits of the indentation. Therefore, as a physiographic feature, Puget Sound could be considered as including all the above named waterways.[6]

These anchorages at Restoration Point are also important from the standpoint of Indian tradition. This is the only place where the Indians kept alive the story of Vancouver's expedition. It is known, from both Menzies and Vancouver, that some Indians were invited on board the *Discovery,* and this probably meant the chief and perhaps his sons. Chief Sealth, who belonged to the Suquamish tribal group, may have been at the village on Restoration Point at this time as a small child of five or six years of age.[7]

The most accurate bearings relating to the fifth anchorage are those taken on Blake Island and Restoration Point. The soundings are still fairly accurate, and the distances given offshore help to identify the location of the *Discovery.*

The sixth anchorage, however, is plotted from the general descriptive materials in the journals of Baker and Vancouver. Quotations from their records are cited in the chart section, as no compass bearings, other than those taken on mountains, were given in any of the journals. The explorers of that day, and especially Vancouver, who mentions it, took care never to anchor unnecessarily close to any encampment of Indians. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the sixth anchorage, while more convenient to the Indian village than the fifth, was nevertheless at least one-half mile distant.

The two bearings taken by Vancouver at the sixth anchorage were sights on Mount Baker and Mount Rainier. It is almost impossible, however, to plot the position of the *Discovery* from the bearings taken on these two mountains, and no attempt has been made, therefore, to use them on the chart.

On May 30 the *Discovery* weighed anchor and sailed to the north, up Admiralty Inlet, and just before midnight she dropped anchor off Elliot Point, north of Mukilteo. The *Chatham* had anchored previously farther in toward Everett, and at first the *Discovery* had some difficulty locating her. Vancouver ordered a swivel fired, as it was close to 12 P.M., and this was answered by the *Chatham.*

The next morning, May 31, Vancouver took the bearings for his seventh anchorage. The sights on Gedney Island and Possession Point serve to place the anchorage as indicated on the chart. From this anchorage, as well as from Elliot Point, a clear view may be had of both the northwest and southeast points of Gedney Island, as well as the easternmost bluff on Possession Point. They are well outlined when there is no fog, even on a rainy day.

Vancouver and Menzies went ashore on the present Elliot Point, which Lieutenant Broughton, the commander of the *Chatham,* had named Rose Point because of the many wild rosebushes he found growing there. This spot is probably just south of the Coast Guard lighthouse now on the point. The point is easily observed from the road leading down to the ferry dock at Mukilteo.

That afternoon the *Discovery* weighed anchor and attempted to sail northwesteward. However, the wind failed, and by 11 o'clock that evening she had progressed only five miles. Here Vancouver anchored in midchannel about half way between Camano Head and Gedney Island.

At 6 o'clock on the morning of June 1 both vessels sailed northward into Port Susan. After proceeding six miles up the inlet, the *Chatham* went aground through the carelessness of one of the crew. Vancouver explained: "In sounding to lay out their anchors, it became evident that in the very direction in which they had sailed to their then station, they had run upwards of half a mile on this bank in 2 fathoms water, in consequence of the unpardonable negligence of the man at the lead, who had announced false soundings, and for which he was deservedly punished." Fortunately, the *Chatham* suffered no damage, and about 12 P.M. she was floated off with high tide. This ninth anchorage is comparatively easy to identify, as the distance sailed by the *Discovery* into the inlet and her position relative to the eastern shore were simple matters to observe accurately from the ship.

At 8 o'clock Saturday, June 2, with Mr. Whidbey in command, the two small boats that had been dispatched by the *Chatham* on May 29 from their anchorage off Mukilteo, returned to the expedition. Mr. Whidbey reported directly to Captain Vancouver. Port Susan and Port Gardner (Saratoga Passage) had been explored, but at this time Whidbey had not seen Deception Pass. He observed more Indians in the present Saratoga Passage than in any previous area of the Sound yet visited and estimated them to number about six hundred. They seemed friendly, cooperative, and much astonished that the English sailors had such white skin.

Soon after the small boats arrived, the two ships raised anchor and sailed before a light northerly wind southward out of Port Susan. Their progress was slow, and after five hours had passed they had traveled only about seven and one-half miles. At 3 o'clock they anchored in 50 fathoms of water just off the south point of the present Tulalip Bay. This anchorage, as well as that in Port Susan, is clearly marked on Vancouver's chart. The two quotations from Vancouver and Menzies, which appear in the chart section at this tenth anchorage at Tulalip, will serve to identify this location as the correct one.

At Tulalip on June 4 Vancouver with his officers went ashore to take formal possession of the country. We have an account of this memorable event from Vancouver's pen:

> On sunday all hands were employed in fishing with tolerably good success, or in taking a little recreation on shore; and on monday they were served as good a dinner as we were able to provide them, with double allowance of grog to drink the King's health, it being the anniversary of His Majesty's birth; on which auspicious day, I had long since designed to take formal possession of all the countries we had lately been employed in exploring, in the name of, and for His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors.
>
> To execute this purpose, accompanied by Mr. Broughton, and some of the officers, I went on shore about one o'clock pursuing the usual formalities which are generally observed on such occasions, and under the discharge of a royal salute from the vessels, took possession accordingly of the coast, from that part of New Albion, in the latitude of 39°20′ north, and longitude 236°26′ east, to the entrance of this inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca; as likewise all the coast islands, &c. within the said straits, as well on the northern as on the southern shores; together with those situated in the interior sea we had discovered, extending from the said straits, in various directions, between the north-west, north, east and southern quarters; which interior sea I have honored with the name of The Gulph of Georgia, and the continent binding the said gulph, and extending southward to the 45th degree of north latitude, with that of New Georgia, in honor of His present Majesty. This branch of Admiralty inlet obtained the name of Possession Sound; its western arm, after Vice Admiral Sir Alan Gardner,

I distinguished by the name of Port Gardner [now called Saratoga Passage], and its smaller or eastern one by that of Port Susan.

The marker commemorating this ceremony is located four and one-half miles southeast, in Everett at Grand and 18th Street, in a park situated on the high bluff which overlooks the waterfront. A brass plate, set in a large roughhewn granite block, was erected here by the Marcus Whitman Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on June 4, 1915.

On Tuesday, June 5, at 7 A.M., the vessels left Tulalip Bay and sailed southward down Possession Sound. They tacked around Possession Point and stood to the northward up Admiralty Inlet. Their surveys now being completed in that part of the inland sea they were now leaving, the expedition prepared to examine next the area where Lieutenant William Broughton, commanding the *Chatham*, had been ordered to make his reconnaissance during the week of May 18 to May 25.

The next five anchorages mark the slow progress of the ships northward to Cypress Island. From midnight of June 5 until 7 A.M. the next morning, they anchored off the east shore of Marrowstone Island. June 6 they spent working northward out of Admiralty Inlet. Passing over the present Partridge Bank (where they observed the shallow water), they came to anchor at 3 P.M. in 20 fathoms of water on a sandy bottom. The most accurate sights for plotting this twelfth anchorage are Point Wilson, Violet Point, and the two bearings of Smith Island. These bearings, and those taken from the journals of Menzies and Puget, plot the position as shown on the chart.

For the next two days the ships found no wind, and after drifting south with the tide some little distance they anchored until they could again go forward. From these anchorages both Vancouver and Menzies went ashore on Smith Island, the former to take a series of azimuths and the latter to examine the plant and animal life. Finally, about 7 o'clock in the evening of June 8, both ships weighed and caught a light breeze which took them about 11 miles northward into Rosario Strait. At 9 o'clock the same evening, the vessels dropped anchor on a hard rocky bottom. The bearings relating to this fifteenth anchorage are particularly accurate. The sights on Bird Rocks, Point Colville, Deception Pass, and Smith Island all plot out very well and identify the anchorage as shown on the chart.

As they left Admiralty Inlet, Baker wrote his comments on "this large branch of the sea," noting its excellent harbors and secure anchorage but giving his opinion that "their remote situation from the Sea Coast, renders it improbable that they will ever be of much use to Navigators." Menzies, however, penned a fulsome description.

> We cannot quit Admiralty Inlet without observing that its beautiful Canals & wandering navigable branches traverse through a low flat Country upwards of 20 leagues to the Southward of its entrance & 8 or 9 leagues to the Eastward & to the North East, thus diffusing utility & ornament to a rich Country by affording a commodious & ready communication through every part of it, to the termination of its most distant branches. Its short distance from the Ocean which is not above 26 leagues, & easy access by the streights of Juan de Fuca is likewise much in its favour should its fertile banks be hereafter settled by any civilized nation. . . .
>
> To the South East of us down Admiralty Inlet was seen through a beautiful avenue formed by the Banks of the Inlet Mount Rainier at the distance of 26 Leagues, which did not diminish but rather apparently augmented its great elevation & huge bulky appearance; from it a compleat ridge of Mountains with rugged & picked summits covered here & there with patches of Snow & forming a solid & impassable barrier on the East Side

> of New Georgia, running in a due North direction to join Mount Baker about 15 leagues to the North Eastward of us & from thence proceeded in high broken Mountains to the North Westward. . . .
>
> A Traveller wandering over these unfrequented Plains is regaled with a salubrious & vivifying air impregnated with the balsamic fragrance of the surrounding Pinery, while his mind is eagerly occupied every moment on new objects & his senses rivetted on the enchanting variety of the surrounding scenery where the softer beauties of Landscape are harmoniously blended in majestic grandeur with the wild & romantic to form an interesting & picturesque prospect on every side.

As the ships advanced into the San Juan Island area, Vancouver commented on the changed aspect of the landscape. "This country presented a very different aspect from that which we had been accustomed to behold further south. The shores now before us were composed of steep rugged rocks, whose surface varied exceedingly in respect to height, and exhibited little more than the barren rock, which in some places produced a little herbage of a dull colour, with a few dwarf trees."

The *Chatham* and the *Discovery* left Point Colville about 3 P.M. on June 9 and with a flood tide and a "tolerably good breeze from the north" came up to Cypress Island. The *Discovery* anchored without incident at Strawberry Bay on the west shore of the island. As the *Chatham* approached the point of the island, however, the wind failed, and the tide swept her to the leeward of it. From a journal kept by one of the *Chatham's* crew we know something of what happened.

> We found Tides here extremely rapid and on the 9th in endeavouring to get round a point to a Bay in which the Discovery had anchor'd, we were swept to Leeward of it with great impetuosity. We therefore let go the Stream anchor in 28 fathoms water but in bringing up, such was the force of the Tide that we parted the Cable. We immediately let go the Bower with which we brought up. On trying the Tide we found it running at the rate

> of 5½ miles an hour. At slack water we swept for the anchor but could not get it, after several fruitless attempts to get it we were at last obliged to leave it and join the Discovery at Strawberry Bay.[8]

These interesting excerpts from the old journals regarding the loss of an anchor give us a clue as to where it may be found. It probably still lies on a rocky ledge in the southwestern part of Bellingham Channel, encrusted with barnacles and covered with seaweed.

On Sunday, June 10, Lieutenant Peter Puget in the launch and Joseph Whidbey in the cutter returned to the expedition at Strawberry Bay. These two small boats had been sent out on June 7 from the fourteenth anchorage position of the *Discovery* to survey the shore leading to the northeast. Puget and Whidbey explored the first opening and passed through it but experienced great difficulty in rowing against the tide while in the narrow channel. An extract from the log kept by Peter Puget describes this first exploration of Deception Pass.

> That Evening assisted by a Strong Flood Tide we Arrived off the first Opening trending to the Eastward, but it was so narrow that we imagined it almost impossible it could communicate with any other Branch, a Short time however convinced us of our Error for the Tide of Ebb came down with such force that, its Rapidity checked our utmost Efforts to stem the Stream, & effectually stopped our Progress for the Night. We therefore brought up near the Entrance from whence we Saw the Vessels dropping up the NW Beach with the Tide. . . .
>
> On Saturday 9th June we again proceeded to the Examination of this Branch through this Narrow Channel not exceeding Forty Yards in Breadth & having Twenty fathoms in Mid Channel passing the Entrance the Continent took a more Southerly Direction & widened considerably. . . . By Nine Mr. Whidbey was perfectly satisfied of its Communication with the Arm he Surveyed; when dispatched on that Service, previous to our Arrival at that Place . . . therefore we have now Determined the Inter-

> vening Land between the North Branch in the SE Arm on the NE Shore & the Narrows to be a large Island, which Cap^tn Vancouver named after Mr. Whidbey.[9]

These discoveries by the small boat survey were among the most important made during the expedition, and Vancouver writes regarding them:

> This determined all the eastern shore of the gulph, from the S.W. point of this passage, in latitude 48°27′, longitude 237°37′, to the north point of entrance into Possession sound, in latitude 47°53′, longitude 237°47′, to be an island, which, in its broadest part, is about ten miles across; and in consequence of Mr. Whidbey's circumnavigation, I distinguished it by the name of WHIDBEY'S ISLAND: and this northern pass, leading into port Gardner, DECEPTION PASSAGE.

The days and sometimes weeks spent by the officers and men in the small open boats were physically exhausting. These surveys constantly exposed the men to the elements and eventually led to the breakdown of Vancouver's health. Menzies describes for us the conditions of hardship and exposure which taxed their strength, and pays tribute to the officers and men for their fortitude.

> The Weather was now become so cold wet & uncomfortable that the men were no longer able to endure the fatiguing hardships of distant excursions in open Boats exposd to the cold rigorous blasts of a high northern situation with high dreary snowy mountains on every side, performing toilsome labor on their Oars in the day, & alternately watching for their own safety at night, with no other Couch to repose upon than the Cold Stony Beach or the wet mossy Turf in damp woody situations, without having shelter sufficient to screen them from the inclemency of boisterous weather, & enduring at times the tormenting pangs of both hunger & thirst, yet on every occasion struggling who should be most forward in executing the orders of their superiors to accomplish the general interest of the Voyage. In short it is but justice to say that on this arduous service both Officers & Men were hourly exposd to various hardships & dangers, yet went cheerfully through the fatiguing operations of the Summer without murmur. And if we look back on the differ-

ent winding Channels & Armlets which the Vessels & Boats traversed over in following the Continental Shore ever since they entered De Fuca's Streights, it will readily be allowed that such an intricate & laborious examination could not have been accomplished in so short a time without the cooperating exertions of both Men & Officers whose greatest pleasure seemd to be in performing their duty with alacrity & encountering the dangers & difficulties incidental to such service with a persevering intrepidity & manly steadiness that afforded a most pleasing omen to the happy issue of our future endeavors in this arduous undertaking.[10]

Monday, June 11, at 4 A.M., the ships sailed out of Strawberry Bay and tacked up Rosario Strait. For a few hours the wind fell off, and they were becalmed. In the late afternoon they passed Lummi Island and entered Georgia Strait, where they sighted a small bay to the north (Birch Bay). Here they came to and anchored with six fathoms of water on a sandy bottom ½ mile from shore. The bearings taken from the seventeenth anchorage were on the points of the bay and Point Roberts.

The lines of sight, as plotted on the chart, set the anchorage in only three fathoms of water. However, Vancouver states in his journal that "Mr. Broughton received my directions to this effect, as also, that the vessels should be removed, the next morning, about a mile further up the Bay to the N.E., where they would be more conveniently stationed for our several operations on shore." This order was carried out and brought the ships to the eighteenth and final anchorage below the present United States and Canadian boundary line.

The two British ships lay at this anchorage from June 11 to June 24. On June 12 Vancouver, in the yawl, accompanied by Lieutenant Peter Puget, in the launch, left on an eleven-day survey of the area to the northward, while Joseph Whidbey, the master of the *Discovery,* in the cutter, accompanied by the *Chatham's* launch, set off to the southeast, where he explored a bay afterwards named by Vancouver as Bellingham's Bay.

Vancouver's long and exhausting trip in the yawl took him into the present harbor of Vancouver, B.C., and then north as far as the northern limit of Jervis Inlet. Here, with a food supply for only a week for each boat, he went on short rations. This survey proved a great disappointment. Vancouver still clung to the idea that he might find the Northwest Passage. Each new inlet raised his hopes, yet each time reconnaissance proved them vain. We can imagine the fresh resolution of the men as the yawl entered Jervis Inlet, and their discouragement as they came to the end of it.

> The width of this channel still continuing, again flattered us with discovering a breach in the eastern range of snowy mountains, notwithstanding the disappointment we had met with in Howe's sound; and although since our arrival in the gulph of Georgia, it had proved an impenetrable barrier to that inland navigation [i.e., the Northwest Passage], of which we had heard so much, and had sought with sanguine hopes and ardent exertions hitherto in vain, to discover.... The inlet now took a N.W. by W. direction, without any contraction in its width, until about five o'clock in the evening, when all our hopes vanished, by finding it terminate, as others had done, in swampy low land producing a few maples and pines, in latitude 50°6′, longitude 236°33′.

On Saturday, as he was returning from this survey, Vancouver sighted two large ships. They proved to be a brig and a schooner, wearing the colors of Spanish vessels of war. Vancouver suspected they were engaged in exploration and found, upon going on board, that this was indeed the case.

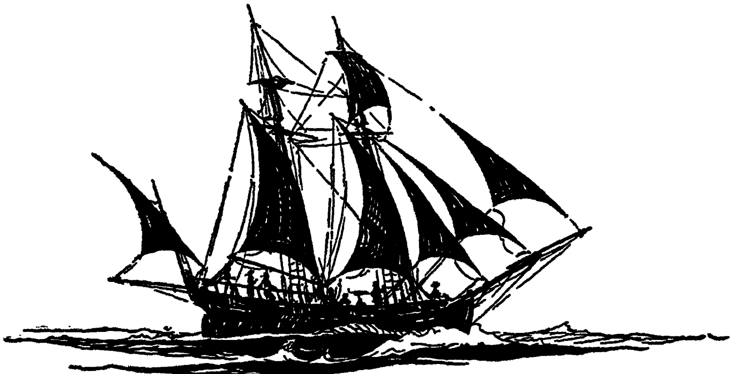
> These vessels proved to be a detachment from the commission of Sen. Melaspina, who was himself employed in the Philippine islands; that Sen. Melaspina had, the preceding year, visited the coast; and that these vessels, his Catholic Majesty's brig the Sutil, under the command of Sen. Don D. Galiano, with the

> schooner Mexicana, commanded by Sen. Don C. Valdes, both captains of frigates in the Spanish navy, had sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of march, in order to prosecute discoveries on this coast.
>
> From these gentlemen, I likewise understood, that Sen. Quadra, the commander in chief of the Spanish marine at St. Blas and at California, was, with three frigates and a brig, waiting my arrival at Nootka in order to negotiate the restoration of those territories to the crown of Great-Britain. Their conduct was replete with that politeness and friendship which characterizes the Spanish nation . . . but being intent on losing no time, I declined their obliging offers, and having partaken with them a very hearty breakfast, bade them farewell.

The British commander now returned to his ships at Birch Bay, and on the morning of June 24 he left the Puget Sound and San Juan area. Vancouver described the departure from Birch Bay in these words:

> With a fine breeze, and very pleasant weather, we sailed out of Birch Bay on Midsummer morning; and, with the wind from the eastward, we directed our course up the gulph, to the north-westward. About two in the afternoon, we were joined by the Spanish vessels, who saluted by cheering. This was returned; after which, their respective commanders favored me with their company on board the Discovery; and we pursued our way up the gulph together.

Pursuing his explorations northward, he accomplished the first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island and anchored at Nootka Sound on the west side of the island, where, according to plan, he met with Don Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra to attempt to carry out the terms of the Nootka Convention.



MEXICANA

VII

The Legacy of Spain and England

With the wide sweep of maritime discovery by Portugal, Spain, and England, the great contributions of the Greeks had melted into obscurity. From the Crusades to the reign of Prince Henry there had been a continually growing interest in exploration. The motivations of the Cross and gold were powerful forces throughout the periods of discovery and exploitation of the New World. When one of these motives became dormant for a while, the other asserted itself and served to rejuvenate the process of exploration. After the furious conquests of the conquistadors, whose momentum carried interest in discovery down to Vizcaino in 1602, there was a century and a half of inactivity until the Cross was carried up into California. By 1778 the fur trade, with its possibilities for huge profits, offered a constant source of encouragement for voyages which opened up the innermost channels of the Northwest Coast. Finally, after the near extinction of the sea otter, the westward movement with its overland migrations once more brought the white man to the Northwest Coast. This rhythm of history we have examined from the point of view of maritime conquests. Yet we cannot overlook the fact that the lands of the New World, manifestly discovered by this repetitive process, in turn had their effect on the Old World.

First, there was a fairly rapid evolution of geographic thought. The discovery of new continents changed man's whole concept of the earth. And with the discovery of new lands came opportunities for profit and the chance for an entirely different way of life. New soil was to beget new ideas. Success was obtained by boldness, not by right of birth. In Seville the conquistadors were suppliants; in New Spain they were kings. On a lesser scale, these same advances were available to all. The aristocratic class system of the Old World began to lose its influence in the New. And if economic freedom was there to be found, why not also religious and political freedom?

The sea voyages to and from the New World had a direct effect upon the Old World navies. The defensive maneuvers of which the Manila galleons were capable brought new concepts of naval strategy. The success of the corsairs resulted in the development of new ideas for British sea power, and conduct of sea campaigns demanded a division of command between Army and Navy. The disciplinary standards set by Drake were accepted gradually by the British Admiralty.[1]

But Spain lacked vision regarding naval planning. She could not see the advantages of establishing active naval bases on the coast of California and hence made little use of San Diego and even less of Monterey. Those bases that she did use—Acapulco, San Blas, and Navidad—were all on the west coast of New Spain and were miniature even for their day. By and large they were used only sporadically, except for Acapulco, where the fort was used as a place for temporary storage for the gold and silver bullion of the Manila and Peruvian galleons. Spain made no attempts at long-range naval strategy prior to the ill-fated expedition of Martinez at Nootka in 1789. In short, Spain was unable or unwilling to expand her sea power in the Pacific, and her reluctance was to have tragic consequences. Naval strategy, Mahan keenly observes, "is as necessary in peace as in war and may gain its most decisive victories by occupying in a country excellent positions which would hardly be got by war."[2]

During the Nootka Sound controversy it became quite evident that the power of the Church in Spain had diminished considerably. The decisions of the Spanish monarchs after the discovery of the New World were being made on an increasingly secular basis. The new-found wealth had made the Court of Seville independent and had much to do with its attitude of self-confidence, both toward Rome and on the battlefields of Europe.

As Gibbon and others have observed, there was a scarcity of money in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. The huge supply of funds from Spain's New World conquests flooded the money markets and created an inflationary problem in the European economy, as sizeable shipments of gold and silver continued to arrive in Spain aboard the Plate Fleets all during the period of the Renaissance. Spain's feudal administration could not possibly cope with this inflationary trend, and Philip II defaulted on his national debt. But both England and Holland flourished on this wealth which, in addition to their own overseas ventures, gradually came under their control because of their manufacturing abilities and their shrewdness in managing money. It was to prove the golden lifeblood that launched them into the beginnings of capitalism.

Government, too, could assume forms in New Spain that were different from those in the mother country. As the viceroys were removed from the direct influence of Seville, in spite of the irritating visitadors sent to them by the Crown, so western and northern settlements were removed from control of the viceroys. The very distance encouraged independent thought and action.

Perhaps the opportunity for economic gain could be controlled by the New World merchant. If so, here could be dealt the death blow to continental crowns. Even in the early stages of their history, the merchants of New Spain were to realize huge profits. The precise sums will never be known, but their effects were to prove most significant in the development of the civilization of the New World.

It is helpful for our analysis to examine the value of the cargoes sent out from New Spain. In September 1580, Drake returned to Plymouth from his voyage around the world, and attempts have been made to estimate the value of the treasure he took from New Spain and her galleons. The exact amount was kept secret by Elizabeth, and the records have never been found. Drake himself gave away large sums as bribes to Elizabeth's councilors and possibly never knew the actual extent of the fortune. But Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in England, made no secret of his estimate, "claiming that the total value was 450,000 pounds sterling."[3]

Elizabeth set a standard of social approval for such monetary achievements from that day to this. What more could any hard-sailing corsair ask than to be honored at court as a maritime entrepreneur? Elizabeth even wore some of the captured Spanish jewels in a diadem. "Drake had a crown made for the Queen which she wore on New Years day, in which there were five Peruvian emeralds, three of them almost as long as a little finger and two round ones worth 20,000 crowns. On New Years day 1581, he also presented her with a diamond cross worth 5,000 crowns."[4] Only Lord Burghley and the Earl of Sussex refused to touch any of the loot. "The former," Wagner writes, "refused ten bars of fine gold worth 300 crowns each, as his conscience would not allow him to accept anything from Drake."

The standard might have been set in Britain, but the corsairs of other nations also became candidates for piratical honors. In 1628 the Dutchman Peter Heyne captured the whole treasure fleet of New Spain, which had just put out from Vera Cruz, and took off gold and silver bullion amounting to twelve million pesos. Further indications of Spain's colonial wealth are evidenced by the statement that when the Manila galleon put into Acapulco in 1697, it carried "so large and valuable a cargo that 80 thousand pesos were paid in customs duties."[5]

On occasion ships carrying silver bullion sailed from the west coast of New Spain to the Philippines. The Chinese would frequently pay as much as one ounce of gold for 4½ ounces of silver, netting the Spaniards a neat profit of 350 per cent. One such galleon en route to Manila from Acapulco was intercepted in 1743 by the English Captain George Anson, commanding the *Centurion.* After a hard fought sea battle, Anson captured the Spanish ship *Covandonga* and "took off a treasure of one and one-half million in coin and 40,500 marks in silver bullion."[6] Bancroft has furnished us some statistics; and for the years 1706 through 1776 he estimates a value of return cargoes from New Spain from 10 million pesos to more than 27 million in bullion and production. According to the calculations of Humboldt, the total amount of bullion exported during the 13 years from 1779 to 1791 amounted to $224,052,025, while in the preceding 13 years it was only $155,160,564.[7]

It is impossible for us to imagine the impact these huge sums of money had upon the minds of the Spaniards who suddenly had access to wealth or upon the Englishmen who were aware of the approximate amounts if not the details. But gradually it became evident that the source of this wealth could be controlled by the men who were but yesterday from the lowest classes. This opportunity given the ordinary man created a new standard of values in the western world.

In New Spain the profit motive, which initially stimulated the departure of most exploratory expeditions and created this steady flow of fortune to the Crown, resulted in the prolonged misgovernment of the colonies. The position and glory derived from the extraction of gold caused a chain reaction of corruption from the highest to the lowest levels. By 1790 Spain's will to resist the armament of England had been broken. Even the emphasis on discovery had changed with the new balance of power. The seventeenth-century British corsairs were but heralds of Spain's eighteenth-century impotence. By 1768 England sent out her own great expedition under the command of Captain James Cook, and future discovery by sea lay in her hands.

Nineteenth-century exploration was almost exclusively English, for good historical reasons. Spain, although a major power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, lost heavily in 1588 with the destruction of the Armada. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht dispossessed her of most of her European maritime provinces. Napoleon's invasions and the Carlist wars completed her ruin. France, weakened by debilitating European wars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was impoverished by the extravagances of her eighteenth-century courts and was shattered by the French Revolution. The mortality suffered by the ensuing Napoleonic wars tragically reduced her male population, and after Trafalgar she had little importance as a naval power. The infant United States had only begun its growth and its strength was not to become evident until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In short, England had become powerful at the expense of the other European nations. In addition she owned Canada and was Mistress of the Seas.

In each case—Greece, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, Russia, and England—the nation accomplished its greatest goals of discovery when at its most prosperous period. It led because of its strength. When we look at the reasons behind each great epoch of a nation's period of discovery, we are struck with the similarity rather than difference in motives. The motive common to all is that of capital gain. Its significance for us derives from the extent of its use in the New World, for it was to influence the monetary conscience of the American colonies. Here society inherited, through a line of British monarchs since Elizabeth, the definition of a colonial's success, the possession of property and wealth. The psychological effect of these New World fortunes of Spain made an indelible imprint upon early American colonists.

This constant treasure hunt in the New World, whether for gold or for furs, knew no moral code. There was no good, no crime, but a passionate belief in the efficacy of newly amassed wealth. Once found, it brought immediate respectability, and if procured in large amounts, bestowed power. It could even endow the possessor with keys to noble rank until the granting of titles was outlawed by the Constitution of the United States. These miraculous effects of wealth, for those who obtained it, were deeply ingrained in the behavior patterns of those who came to the New World. If from the revenues of New Spain originated this New World capital complex, we as the inheritors of British culture received that ingredient of Anglican morality which gave it respectability. The conquistadors, men with the heroic stamp of a Hernando Cortes or Francisco Pizzaro, would have simply said, "Blessed are the rich for they shall inherit the earth!"

The New World was conquered and exploited not by educated men with high moral principles, but by those who with great courage, persistence, and imagination in the face of incalculable obstacles refused to recognize defeat or even disaster. It is just this tradition of opportunity which is here granted the average man that has made possible North America's great social and economic advances. One cannot deplore the original cause without admiring the ultimate effect.

The sixteenth-century maritime corsair represented the second crucible in which the capital gain principle was refined, for the Spaniard had earlier formulated the process of transmuting baser passions into gold. The lone British sea wolf of 1580-1680 had essentially the same motivations as his Spanish counterpart. Covered with that universally convenient cloak of self-righteousness, he assaulted the small coastal towns of New Spain, put the male citizens to the sword, and appropriated all the gold and silver that he could find. And on Sunday morning, Bible in hand and with the crew humbly kneeling on deck, he solemnly intoned the Protestant religious service.

Spain's commercial colonial policy was based in part upon her consistent program of subjugating the natives, converting them to Roman Catholicism, and then enlisting their labor. The English in North America had a somewhat different approach to the problem. In addition to having a less salable religion in Protestantism, they were faced with a more belligerent, if less cultured, group of Indian nations. These natives were unwilling to accept the intellectual approach of the colonial clergy. A simpler missionary technique based upon the Roman Catholic program in Canada and Mexico might have succeeded. But the Protestant clergy, filled with the zeal of the Reformation, scorned the Catholic tactics as debasing and corrupt.

Since the English missionaries were unsuccessful in converting entire tribes, thus gaining the servile obedience of large numbers of natives, the Indians continued to obstruct inland settlement. It was evident that if these Indian nations could not be permanently converted and made to serve commercial policy, they would have to be dealt with in other ways. Religious conversion failing, it was only by breaking treaties, starving the tribes by destroying their crops, and then removing them to the barren wastelands of the interior that the white man could spread out and progress. By this compromise with morality settlements were secured and commerce established. Spain at least could claim that she had converted the savages—if only to serve her own ambitious end of amassing wealth. The English could not even offer this excuse.

The maritime fur trade of the Pacific Northwest by its very nature demanded the use of native labor. Both the Spanish in their southern possessions and the French in Canada had proved that the technique of using native labor was a practical one from a commercial point of view. This centuries-old Catholic system of utilizing Indian labor had the long-range effect of perpetuating a primitive standard of living among the natives, and they had therefore little need for the products of the mother country. Such exploitation produced immediate treasure, but the over-all results were disastrous. Not only did such an inflexible economic policy stifle the growth of a native economy, but it led to the gradual exhaustion of natural resources. Mineral wealth disappeared from New Spain's worked-out mines, and to the north the sea otter became extinct, and all the while the indigenous population remained impoverished. Left in such a decimated condition, the Spanish colonies could do nothing to stop the industrial decline of Spain herself. The United States and England, with a severe method of extermination or removal of the Indian populations, replaced them by thousands of European immigrant families, thereby creating a built-in market for manufactured products.

This treatment of the aboriginal population reveals the historic process by which the lowest levels of society suffer most in the progress of civilization. Only later may their descendants take advantage of these advances. Mexico might actually be more advanced today were not the Faith so well spread by the early Franciscan fathers. The acceptance of religion did much to protect the indigenous population of Central and South America, while their red northern brothers were decimated. Whether the disease of paganism was worth the cure of conversion may be pondered in viewing the present results of such contrasting Indian policies in North and South America.

One is always amazed at the large number of publications available of early sea voyages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when books were fewer, these innumerable publications were the bookseller's boon. The avidity with which these journals were read, coupled with the circulation of rumors of wealth in strange lands, constituted the propaganda used by England to foster immigration to the New

World. England made good use of the tales told by her mariners. Spain, however, made little attempt at full disclosure of her discoveries before Navarrete wrote his famous introduction to the *Voyage of the Sutil and the Mexicana,* and this was not printed until 1802. By her clandestine policy, Spain failed in the very thing she tried to accomplish, and in time her lands became the property of others. By heeding the advice of the Church, she could have colonized California a hundred years sooner than she did.

The loss of Spain's prestige and later her lands in the New World can be attributed to the greed of her kings, whose examples of avarice spread to the viceroys and from them down to the lowest officeholders in the colonial government. It was the old dictum of absolute power which corrupts absolutely. The benefits of her development of colonial wealth were lost without agents of good management. Her provincial governors and explorers by land and sea became aware of a feeling of prominence. It was not always necessary to produce a good revenue for the Crown nor to open up new territory in order to receive notice from Seville. False claims and the circulation of rumors were often enough to rescue an individual from oblivion. Here another gambit was added to the New World heritage from the impoverished leaders of various Spanish expeditions. Arisen from low social and economic conditions, these captains had from birth conditioned themselves to the process of getting on in life. Their concern was not only with financial reward or covetousness for land. They were also obsessed with the threat of being relegated to the limbo of military obscurity. It is hard to explain the actions of Estevan Martinez at Nootka in any other light.

It is not my intention either to eulogize or deprecate the legacy left by Spain, but rather to analyze what I consider to be the most important factors. The insatiable Spanish thirst for financial reward brought with it innumerable cultural characteristics, many of which have had lasting effects on North America. But it was the economic incentive, carrying with it a program for the dissemination of ideas, that brought the civilization of Spain to the New World. It was a peculiarly modified classic culture which was not yet wholly detached from the European system of the Middle Ages. It gave the New World its first Christian teaching, social organization, and principles of economic determinism.

One must also credit Spain with the contribution of a large amount of additional geographic information to that already available in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There were contributions made by scientific expeditions such as that of Dr. Hernandez during the reign of Philip II. Spanish naturalists were sent out on numerous expeditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among them Ulloa and Jorge Juan. The project of a canal across Central America was considered by Hernando Cortes, who investigated Tehuantepec with this purpose in mind. Cortes also considered other canal routes such as Panama and Nicaragua.

The acquisitiveness of Spanish merchants led to the development of mines and the growth of the science of minerology; progress in smelting led to metallurgical methods which are still in use. Observations by priests who accompanied exploratory expeditions, and even led some of their own, contributed to the knowledge of botany and zoology. One of the most important social advances was the Laws of the Indies, which were originated in Spain and carried out by her colonial governmental administrations. A direct result of these laws was the great number of conversions in Mexico and later the extension of the mission systems by Junípero Serra and Salvatierra in California.

Most important among the historical forces on the Pacific Coast was the influence of the early Spanish and English coastal explorations which opened new geographic horizons and pointed up the economic advantages of trade. Later sea voyages to the Northwest Coast by other nations founded the sea otter trade. This trade had several obvious results. (1) It gave England ascendancy over Spain after 1790 in the Pacific Northwest. (2) It showed the Orient and the American colonies the potential wealth of the West. (3) It more clearly delineated the coastline from Alaska to California. (4) It started the maritime trade with China and India. (5) It built economic fortunes for New England merchants and created a reserve pool of capital which could finance future American expansion. (6) It brought to America the first Oriental laborers. (7) It laid the basis for the future American merchant marine. (8) It created a desire to link overland the eastern American coast with the western coast to speed up the process of westward expansion.

If then the interplay of these forces in the New World were set in motion because man's knowledge of geography led him to it, then our debt to these early explorers may be more fully appreciated. This long age of maritime adventure came to a close in our distant quadrant of the globe. Still seeking promise of great reward through the pelts of the sea otter, the sails of nations were filled by the winds of the Northwest, where, by geographic chance, the last act was played out at Nootka, Vancouver Island, surrounded by fog and forest.

Anchorages and Landings

1775-1792

The eleven charts presented here are the cooperative endeavor of the author and the illustrator. The courses and bearings of the Spanish and English maritime expeditions have been superimposed upon basic U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey charts. Dotted lines indicate courses; solid lines indicate bearings. Spanish points of note have been marked with a circled number and anchor for anchorages, circled number and cross for actual landings. Spanish bearing lines are shown for those positions for which information was available. Vancouver's course has been indicated by numerals in sequence with anchors adjacent to intersecting bearing lines or, if bearings were not given, with anchors and dots. Original Spanish and English place names are given, together with modern place names for ready identification of the areas considered. The data for these charts have been obtained from original charts whenever possible and have been compared with, and corroborated by, descriptive materials from logs and journals kept by the explorers themselves or by members of their crews.

It is interesting to note, particularly with reference to the original Vancouver chart, how accurate was the plotting done by the explorers. When one considers the limitations and paucity of their instruments, as compared with modern navigational equipment, one cannot but be impressed by their knowledge and ability as cartographers.

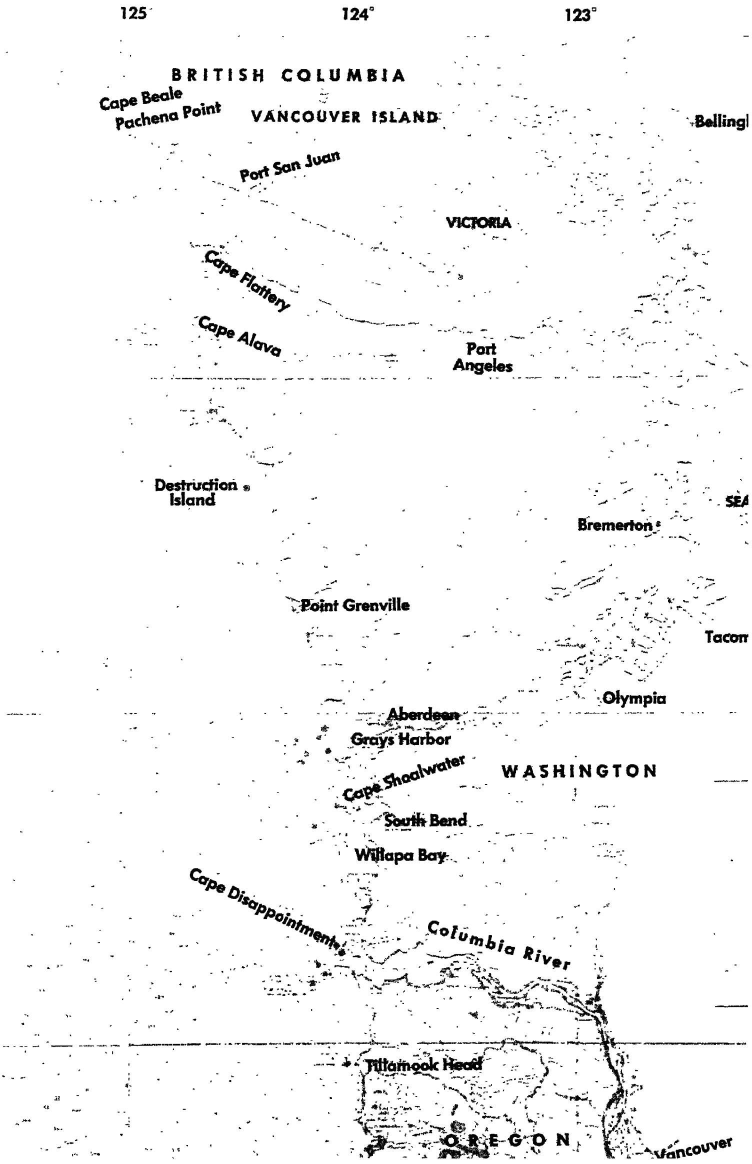
Spanish Anchorages and Landings

(Circled numerals on charts)

1. *Columbia River, 1775, 1792.* The Columbia River was discovered by Bruno de Hezeta on August 17, 1775, and was named "Ensenada de la Nuestra Señora de Asuncion." Later Spanish maps label it the "Entrada de Ezeta." Capt. Robert Gray gave it its present name on May 19, 1792, when he entered it on a fur-trading expedition. Lt. William R. Broughton entered the Columbia River on Oct. 19, 1792, in the *Chatham* pursuant to the orders of Capt. George Vancouver. Broughton proceeded up the river approximately 84 miles. He named Point Vancouver as well as Mount Hood.

2. *Cape Shoalwater, 1788.* Cape Shoalwater, at the present Willapa Bay, was noted by John Meares on July 5, 1788, and was named by him.

124°
123°
122°


125°
124°
123°
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Cape Beale
Pachena Point
VANCOUVER ISLAND
Bellingl
Port San Juan
VICTORIA
Cape Flattery
Cape Alava
Port Angeles
Destruction Island
SEA
Bremerton
Point Grenville
Tacon
Olympia
Aberdeen
Grays Harbor
Cape Shoalwater
WASHINGTON
South Bend
Willapa Bay
Cape Disappointment
Columbia River
Tillamook Head
OREGON
Vancouver

3. *Grays Harbor, 1792.* Grays Harbor was first named "Bullfinch" by Capt. Robert Gray on May 7, 1792, after Charles Bullfinch, one of the shipowners. In October 1792, when Joseph Whidbey surveyed it, he named it Grays Harbor after the original discoverer. Galiano referred to it as the "Puerto de Gray."

4. *Moclips, 1775.* The schooner *Sonora,* commanded by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, anchored here. On the morning of July 14, 1775, seven crewmen who went ashore at the mouth of the Moclips River were killed by Indians.

5. *Point Grenville, 1775.* The frigate *Santiago,* commanded by Bruno de Hezeta, anchored here in 1775. At six o'clock on the morning of July 14, Hezeta, accompanied by a surgeon, priest, pilot, and twenty armed men, went ashore at Point Grenville to erect a cross and take possession of the land for Spain. Hezeta called this point "Punta de los Martires" in memory of the massacre of the crewmen from the schooner *Sonora.*

6. *Destruction Island, 1775, 1787, 1792.* This island was named "Dolores" by Quadra in 1775, after the massacre of a boat's crew from the *Sonora.* In 1787 Capt. Charles W. Barkley named it Destruction Island after some of his crew who were killed when they ascended a river on the mainland near the island. Vancouver preserved Barkley's name Destruction Island. It was near this island that the *Discovery* and the *Columbia* met on April 29, 1792.

7. *Cape Alava, 1790.* This was originally named "Punta de Hijosa" on the Quimper expedition chart of 1790, drawn by Haro. The name next appeared on the 1791 chart of Juan Pantoja of the Eliza expedition. On the 1792 chart of the Galiano and Valdes expedition the original name was replaced by "Punta de Alava." Jose Manuel de Alava followed Quadra as the commandant of the naval base at San Blas, New Spain.

8. *Cape Flattery, 1778.* On March 22, 1778, Capt. James Cook discovered and named Cape Flattery. Manuel Quimper called it "Punta de Martinez" in 1790. It was also known as Cape Classet and Tutusi by the early fur traders. The original name given by Cook was retained by Vancouver on his chart in 1792.

9. *Neah Bay, 1790.* On July 24, 1790, Manuel Quimper anchored his ship, the *Princesa Real,* in Neah Bay. On Aug. 1 he took possession of the bay, calling it "Bahia de Nunez Gaona" in honor of Manuel Nunez Gaona, who became a rear admiral in the Spanish navy.

10. *Carmanah Point, 1788.* This is the "Punta de Bonilla" named by Narvaez, *ca.* July 1, 1789, after the then secretary to the Viceroy of New Spain. In July 1788, Robert Duffin, in a longboat from the *Felice,* sighted this point, and Capt. John Meares called it Point Duffin. In

1846 the Admiralty surveyors misapplied the name to the next point eastward. The original Bonilla Point is therefore now called Carmanah Point.

11. *Port San Juan, 1788.* Port San Juan was named Port Hawkesbury by Capt. John Meares after it was sighted by his first officer Robert Duffin from a longboat of the *Felice* on July 17, 1788. This port was familiar to many fur traders; they called it Poverty Cove. Late in June 1789 Jose Narvaez was ordered by Martinez to set out from Nootka to explore the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Narvaez examined this port probably on June 24, the commemoration of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, which may account for the name San Juan. The Quimper expedition in June 1790 surveyed it and gave the port the name "San Juan o de Narvaez." Vancouver used the original name Port San Juan on his 1792 chart.

12. *Sombrio River, 1789.* This river was shown on the chart of Lopez de Haro from the 1790 expedition of Quimper as the "Rio Sombrio."

13. *Jordan River, 1790.* This river was named "Rio Hermosa" by Quimper in his Diario of June 15, 1790. On the "Carta Reducida" of Lopez de Haro in 1790 it appears as the "R. Jordan." It was named for Alejandro Jordan, a priest with the Eliza expedition.

14. *Sooke Inlet, 1790.* Sooke Inlet was named by Quimper "Puerto de Revilla Gigedo" on June 23, 1790, after the Viceroy of New Spain.

15. *Clallam Bay, 1790.* At 10:30 P.M. on July 23, 1790, Manuel Quimper anchored here and named the bay "Ensenada de Rojas" after a rear admiral in the Spanish navy. The present name of Clallam honors the old Indian tribe.

16. *Pysht, 1790.* At 1:30 P.M. on July 22, 1790, Quimper anchored here and named the small bay just east of Pillar Point, at the mouth of the Pysht River, "Ensenada de Soto Aguilar."

17. *Freshwater Bay, 1790.* Manuel Quimper anchored his sloop, the *Princesa Real,* here on July 21, 1790, and filled his water casks at the Elwha River. He gave no name to this bay, but the present Angeles Point appears on both of the charts of Lopez de Haro as "Punta de Davila."

18. *Port Angeles, 1791.* Juan Francisco de Eliza, commanding the packetboat *San Carlos,* and Jose Maria Narvaez, commanding the schooner *Santa Saturnina,* discovered Port Angeles when they anchored here on August 2, 1791. Eliza named it "Puerto de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles," as August 2 is the festival day for the Señora de los Angeles.

19. *Dungeness Bay, 1790.* The sloop *Princesa Real* anchored here on July 4, 1790. On July 8 possession was taken at the spot marked by a cross. The bay was named "Puerto de Quimper" after the commander of the expedition.

20. *Parry Bay, 1790.* This was named the "Rada de Solano" by Manuel Quimper on June 28, 1790.

21. *Royal Roads, 1790.* The present Royal Roads was named "Rada de Valdes y Bazan" by Quimper on June 30, 1790, in honor of the Spanish Minister of Marine.

22. *Esquimalt Harbor, 1790.* This was named "Puerto de Cordova" on July 20, 1790, by Quimper. This name was later removed to the bay on the east side of Vancouver Island just north of Victoria in 1842 by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The present name Esquimalt is a contraction of the Indian name "Is-whay-malth."

23. *Haro Strait, 1790.* This strait was first sighted on June 29, 1790, by Juan Carrasco, the second pilot of Quimper's expedition. It was named by Quimper on July 18, 1790, the "Canal de Lopez de Haro," after the first pilot. Vancouver used part of the original name and called it on his 1792 chart "Canal de Arro."

24. *East Point, 1791.* East Point was originally named "Punta Santa Saturnina" after one of the ships of the Eliza expedition. The name has been contracted to Saturna and given to the island.

25. *Porlier Pass, 1791.* This pass was discovered in July 1791 by Narvaez and named "Bocas de Porlier" in honor of the Attorney-General in Madrid, Antonio Porlier. The *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* anchored here on June 15, 1792, and their respective commanders, Galiano and Valdes, retained the name on their charts.

26. *Josef Point, 1791-1792.* This point was first named by Narvaez in 1791 "Punta de Gaviota." The Galiano and Valdes expedition of 1792 called it "Gaviola," meaning gull. The name "Gabriola," an adaptation of the original Spanish word, has since been given to the island.

27. *Nanaimo Harbor, 1791.* This was the "Boca de Winthuysen" named by Narvaez in July 1791, after an officer in the Spanish navy.

28. *Nanoose Harbor, 1791.* This was the "Ensenada de Rualcava" discovered by Narvaez in July 1791, and first appears on the chart of Pantoja that same year. The present name honors the old Nanoosa Indian tribe.

29. *Georgia Strait, 1791-1792.* This strait was first seen in June 1791 by Juan Pantoja, a pilot of the Eliza expedition, and named "El Gran Canal de Nuestra Señora de Rosario la Marinera" in honor of the patron saint of their vessel. On June 4, 1792, Vancouver named it the "Gulph of Georgia" in honor of George III of England.

30. *Burrard Inlet, 1791-1792.* The "Boca de Floridablanca" appears at this place on the 1791 "Carta que Comprehende" of Eliza. This is the mouth of the present Burrard Inlet, probably discovered by Narvaez in July 1791, and named for the then Spanish secretary of state. On June 19, 1792, the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* of the Galiano and Valdes expedition anchored here and called it "Brazo de Florida Blanca." On June 14, 1792, Vancouver named it "Burrard's Canal" after Sir Harry Burrard.

31. *Fraser River, 1791.* Jose Maria Narvaez in a longboat noted fresh water in the vicinity of the mouth of the present Fraser River in July 1791. In 1792 Vancouver, believing that the Spaniards had previously named the river, wrote in his journal: "They [Galiano and Valdes] seemed much surprised that we had not found a river said to exist in the region we had been exploring and named by one of their officers 'Rio Blancho.'"

32. *Boundary Bay, 1791-1792.* This is the "Ensenada del Engano" of Galiano, who named it on June 13, 1792. In 1791 Eliza had thought the end of Boundary Bay to be a channel, but Galiano, upon examining it during his 1792 expedition, saw that there was no passage at its end. "Engano" means mistake.

33. *Birch Bay, 1791-1792.* The "Punta y Laguna del Garzon," named by Narvaez in 1791, may refer to Birch Bay and Point Whitehorn. In June 1792 Galiano and Valdes named Birch Bay "Ensenada del Garzon." Vancouver gave it its present name in 1792 from the many birch trees he found growing there.

34. *Patos, Sucia, and Matia Islands, 1791.* These three islands were sighted by Pantoja on June 17 and 18, 1791, from the longboat of the Eliza expedition. "Patos" means ducks; "Sucia" means bad and refers to the adjacent reefs; "Matia" is a corruption of the "Mal Abrigo" of Pantoja, meaning no protection.

35. *Lummi Bay, 1791-1792.* The name "Punta Loera" first given by Narvaez of the 1791 Eliza expedition appears at the head of Lummi Bay, and probably refers to the present Sandy Point. In 1792 Galiano applied the name "Ensenada de Lara" to Lummi Bay.

36. *Bellingham Bay, 1791-1792.* This was the "Seno de Gaston" named by Narvaez in July 1791, after an officer in the Spanish navy. It was explored by Joseph Whidbey on June 11, 1792, and named by Vancouver after Sir William Bellingham.

37. *San Juan Islands, 1791-1792.* The main San Juan Island group was called "Isla de San Juan" by the Galiano and Valdes expedition of 1792. It appears on the "Carta que Comprehende" of Eliza as the "Isla y Archipelago de San Juan." The main group, consisting of Orcas, San Juan, Shaw, Blakely, Lopez, and Decatur, were thought by the Spanish explorers to make up one large island.

38. *Cypress Island, 1791-1792.* This island was named "Isla de San Vincente" by Narvaez in July 1791 after the Viceroy of New Spain. Vancouver called it Cypress Island, after mistaking the wind-blown fir and spruce trees for cypress.

39. *Guemes Island, 1791.* The name "Isla Guemes" was given to this island by Narvaez on July 2, 1791, in honor of the Viceroy of New Spain. In 1792 Galiano and Valdes retained this name on their charts.

40. *Padilla Bay, 1791.* This was named by Narvaez in July 1791 the "Seno de Padilla" after the Viceroy of New Spain.

(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6002)

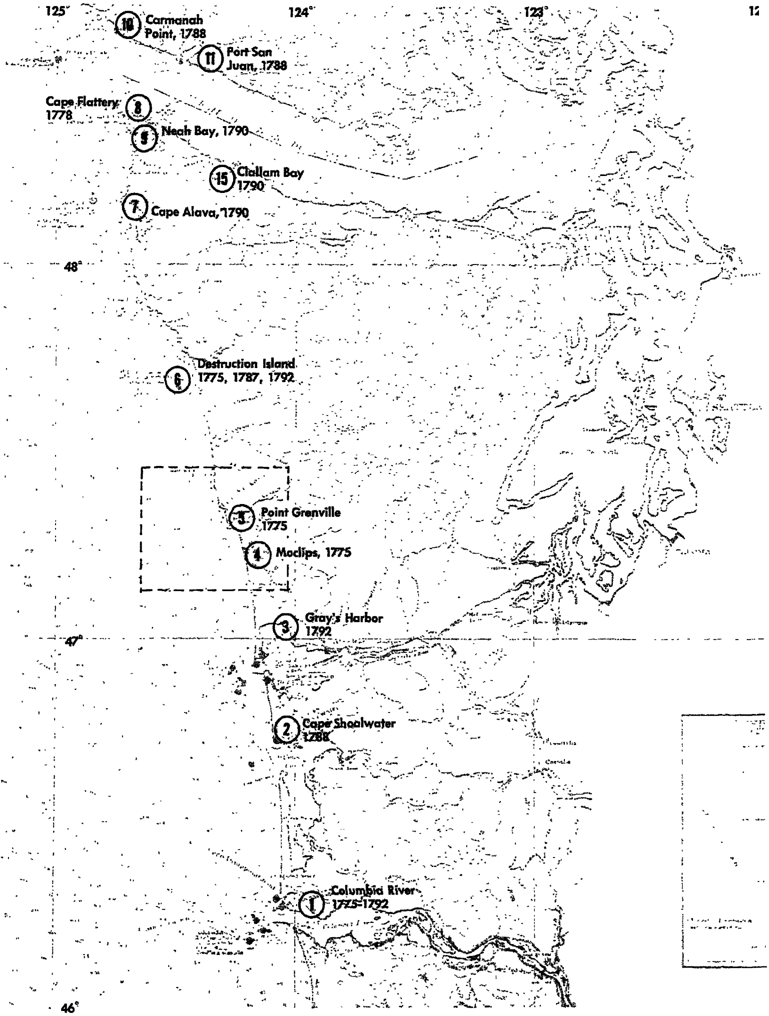
No. 3. Detail of the Charts of the Santiago and the Sonora

41. *Middle Channel, 1791.* This channel was called "Bocas de Orcasitas" on the 1791 chart of Juan Pantoja. It was derived from one of the many family names of the current Viceroy, the Conde de Revilla-Gigedo.

42. *Rosario Strait, 1790-1792.* This was the "Boca de Fidalgo" on the chart of Quimper and was named by him on July 5, 1790, after Salvador Fidalgo, a fellow Spanish naval officer who was exploring the Northwest Coast at the time. In 1791 Eliza called the strait the "Canal

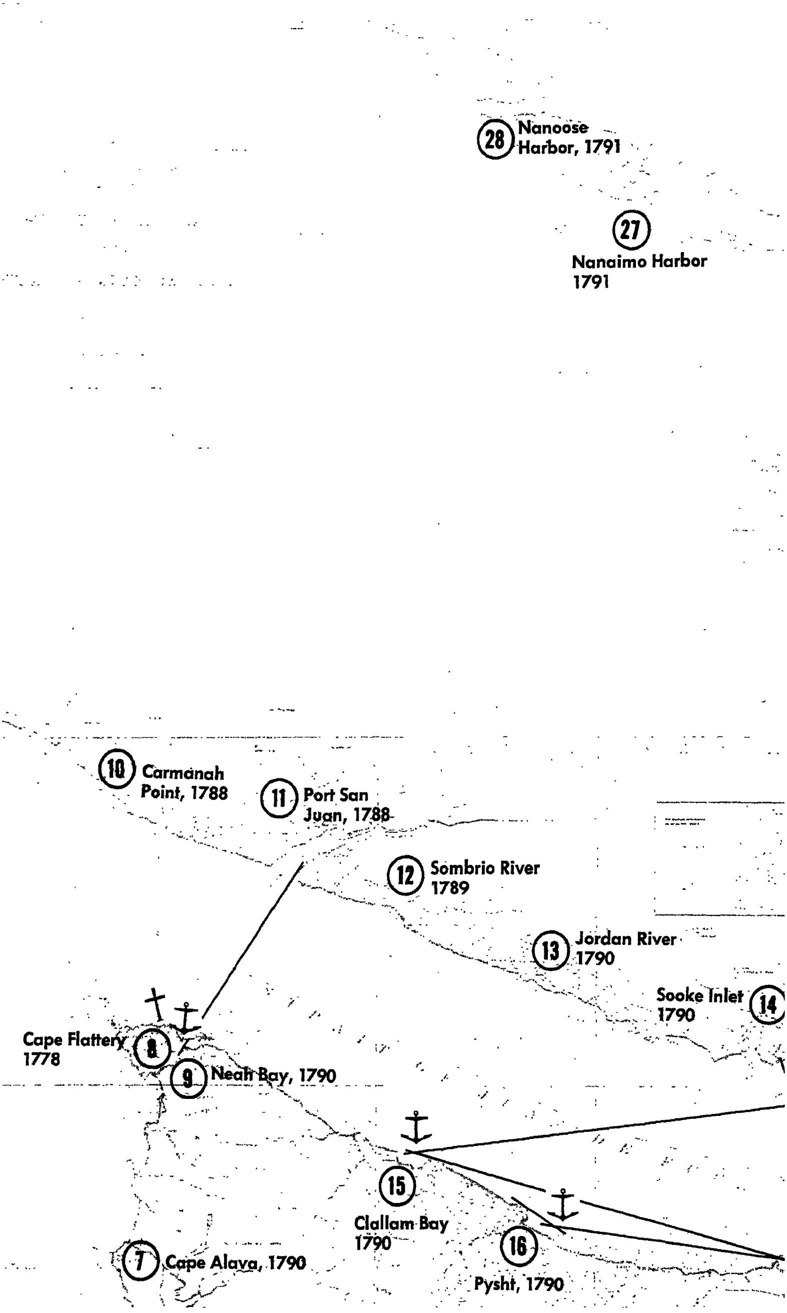
de Fidalgo." In 1792, when Vancouver named the Gulf of Georgi
he transferred the "Rosario" part of the original Spanish name to th
position on his chart.

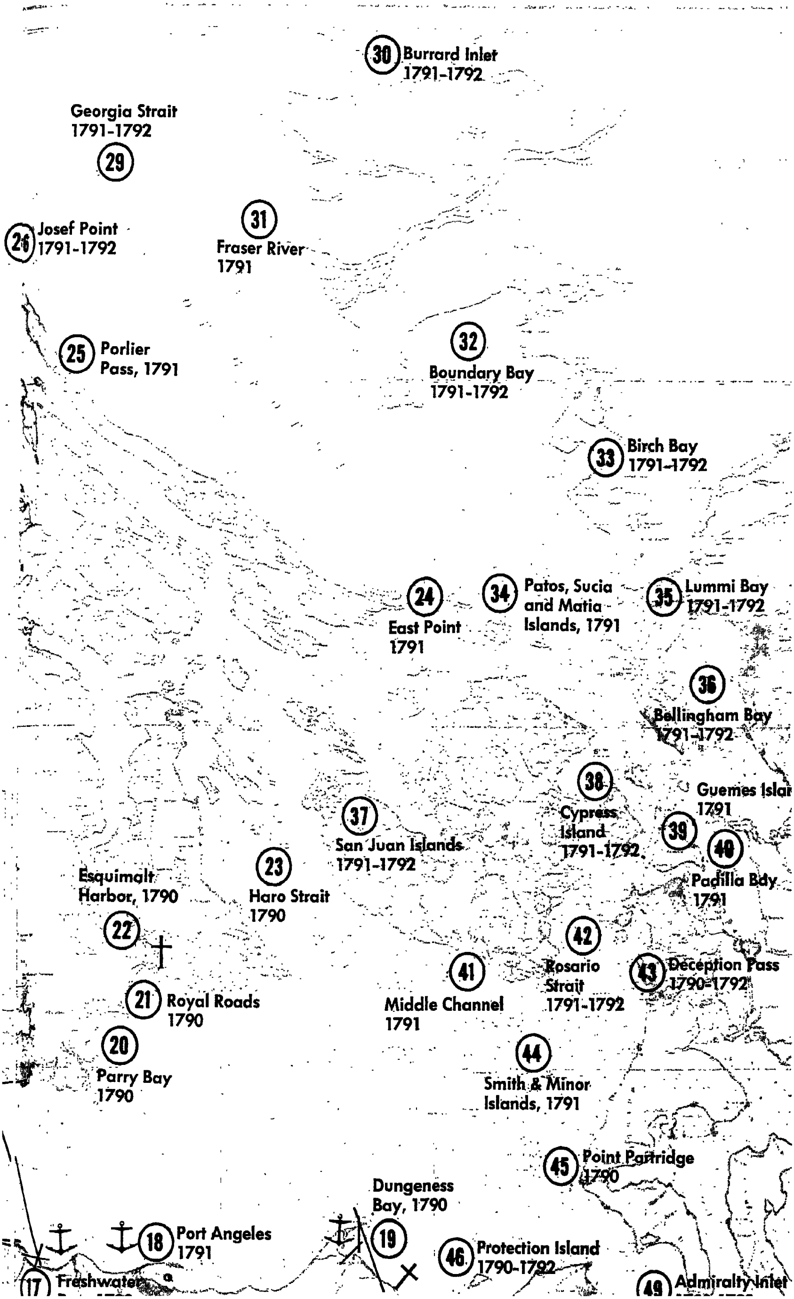
43. *Deception Pass, 1790-1792.* This pass was first sighted o
July 5, 1790, by Juan Carrasco, the second pilot of the Quimper expe
dition, and was named "Boca de Flon" in honor of Col. Manuel d



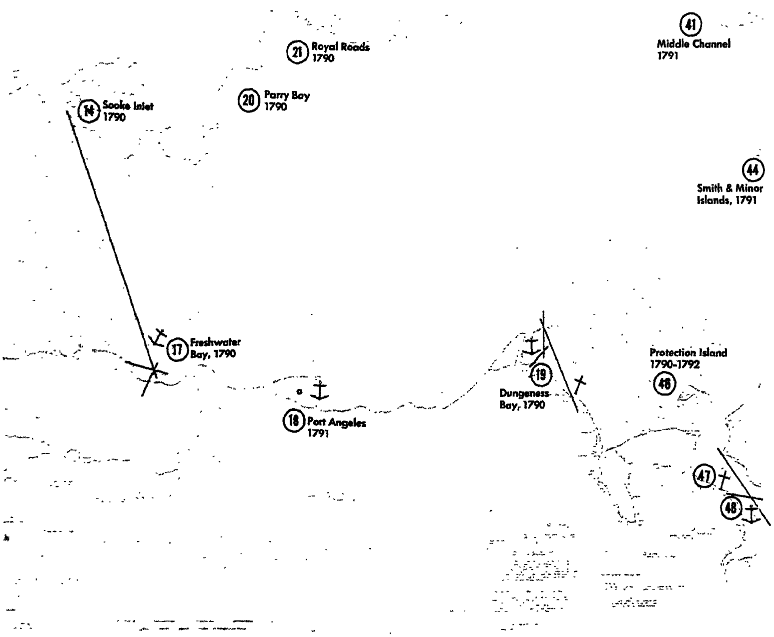
(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6002)

No. 4. Detail of Coastal Waters from the Columbia River to the Strait of Juan de Fuca


28
Nanoose Harbor, 1791
27
Nanaimo Harbor 1791
10
Carmanah Point, 1788
11
Port San Juan, 1788
12
Sombrio River 1789
13
Jordan River 1790
Sooke Inlet 1790
14
Cape Flattery 1778
8
9
Neah Bay, 1790
15
Clallam Bay 1790
16
Pysht, 1790
7
Cape Alava, 1790



30 Burrard Inlet 1791-1792
Georgia Strait 1791-1792
29
26 Josef Point 1791-1792
31 Fraser River 1791
25 Porlier Pass, 1791
32 Boundary Bay 1791-1792
33 Birch Bay 1791-1792
24 East Point 1791
34 Patos, Sucia and Matia Islands, 1791
35 Lummi Bay 1791-1792
36 Bellingham Bay 1791-1792
38 Cypress Island 1791-1792
Guemes Islar 1791
39
40 Padilla Bay 1791
37 San Juan Islands 1791-1792
Esquimalt Harbor, 1790
22
23 Haro Strait 1790
21 Royal Roads 1790
20 Parry Bay 1790
41 Middle Channel 1791
42 Rosario Strait 1791-1792
43 Deception Pass 1790-1792
44 Smith & Minor Islands, 1791
45 Point Partridge 1790
Dungeness Bay, 1790
19
18 Port Angeles 1791
46 Protection Island 1790-1792
17 Freshwater
49 Admiralty Inlet



(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6382)

No. 6. Strait of Juan de Fuca, Eastern Part

Flon who had been the Spanish governor of New Mexico. The pass was explored by Joseph Whidbey and Peter Puget on June 7, 1792, and given its present name by Vancouver.

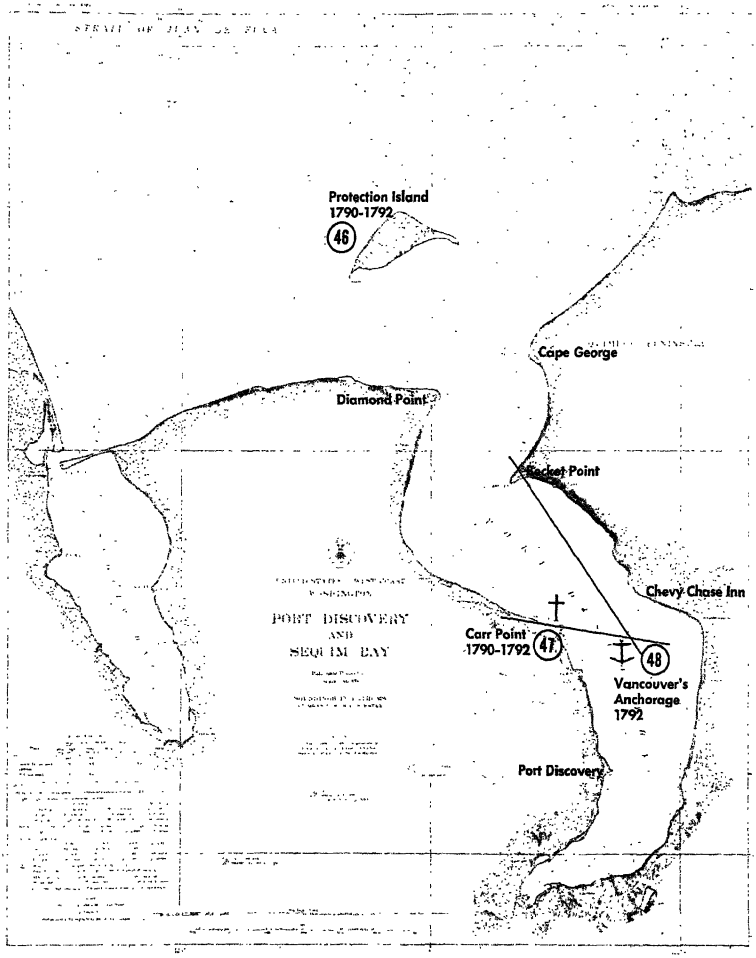
44. *Smith and Minor Islands, 1791.* These were the "Islas de Bonilla" of Eliza and named by him in 1791 after Antonio Bonilla, the secretary to the Viceroy of New Spain.

45. *Point Partridge, 1790.* This point was marked "Punta de Menendez" on the 1790 chart of Lopez de Haro. It was sighted on July 5 by the second pilot, Juan Carrasco, and named by Quimper, the commander of the expedition, in honor of Salvador Menendez Valdes, then executive officer with Fidalgo on an expedition to Alaska.

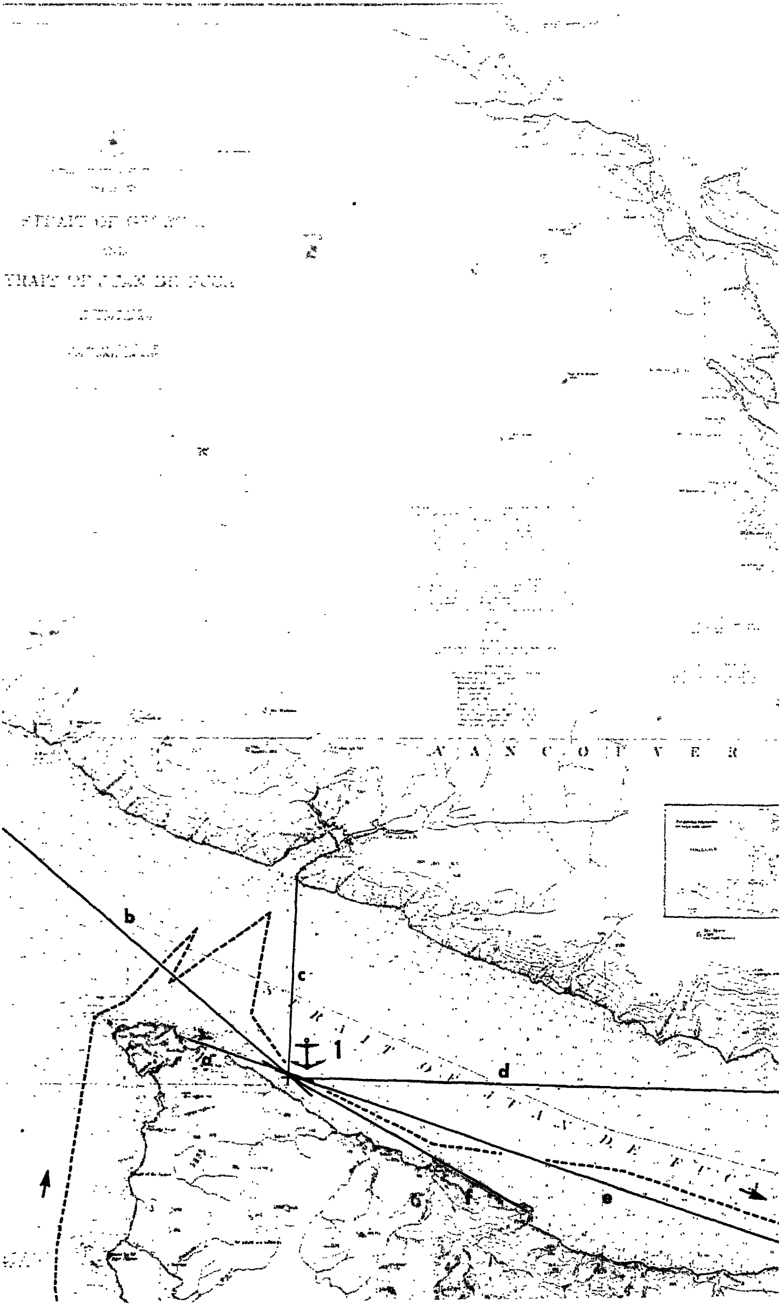
46. *Protection Island, 1790-1792.* On July 11, 1790, Manuel Quimper named this island "Isla de Carrasco" after his second pilot who had first discovered it. On May 1, 1792, Vancouver landed on the west end of the island. On May 2 he wrote in his ship's log that, "Had this insular production of nature been designed by the most able engineer, it could not have been placed more happily for the protection of the port, not only from the N. W. winds, to the violence of which it would otherwise be greatly

attempts of an enemy when properly fortified; and hence I called it Protection Island."

47. *Carr Point, 1790-1791.* On July 11, 1790, a longboat commanded by second pilot Juan Carrasco put out from the Puerto de Quimper (Dungeness Bay) where the sloop *Princesa Real,* under the command of the leader of the expedition, Manuel Quimper, was anchored. On July 13, 1790, Quimper ordered his two pilots, Lopez de Haro and Juan Carrasco, to make a plan of the port. A cross was erected "on a sand point in front of the port, the most southerly and



(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart



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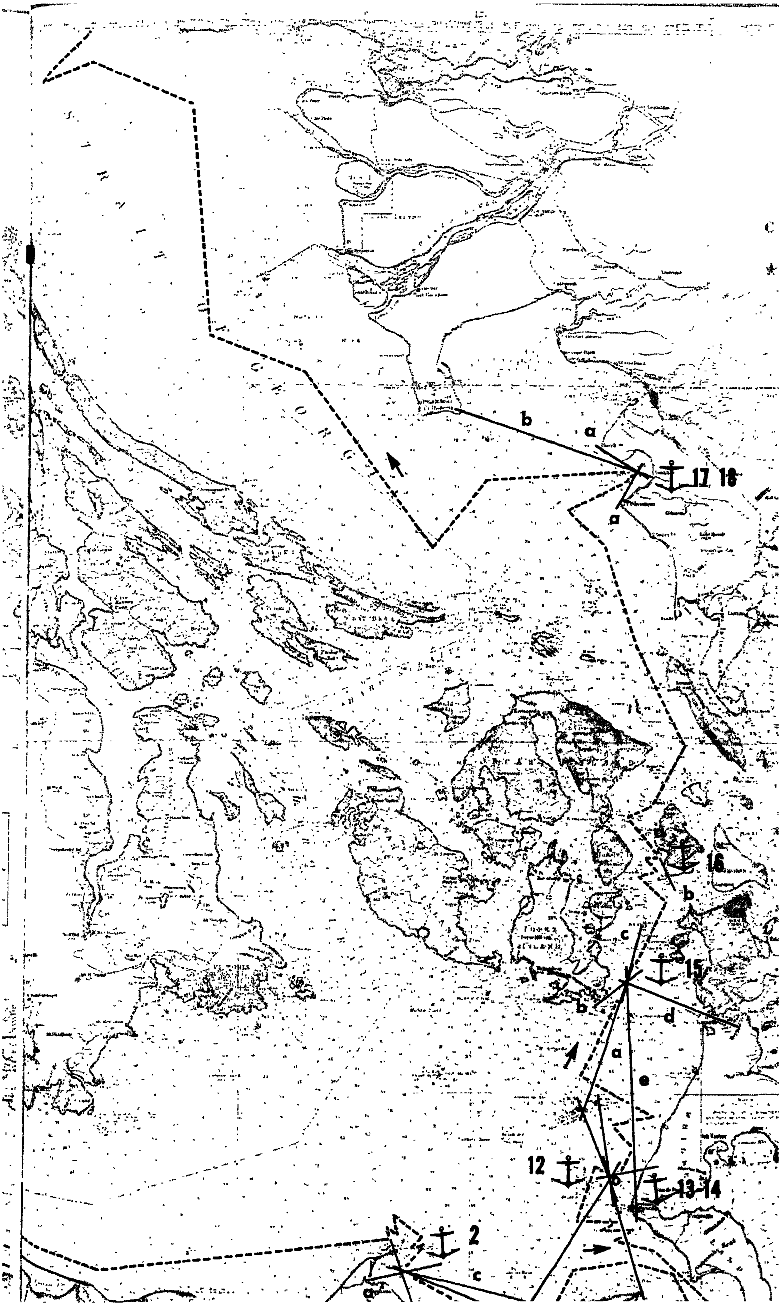
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13-14
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westerly one which can be seen when entering the mouth." Quimper named this bay "Puerto de la Bodega y Quadra" in honor of the then commandant of San Blas in New Spain. On June 29, 1791, the two ships of the Eliza expedition anchored in this port: the packetboat *San Carlos,* commanded by Francisco de Eliza, the leader of the expedition, and the schooner *Santa Saturnina,* commanded by Jose Maria Narvaez.

48. *Vancouver's Anchorage, 1792.* On May 1, 1792, James Johnstone in the *Chatham's* yawl and Capt. George Vancouver in the *Discovery's* cutter explored this bay while the two British ships were anchored in Dungeness Bay. On May 2, before noon, both vessels of Vancouver's expedition, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham,* anchored off the present Carr Point with the following bearings: "East Entrance Point [Beckett Point] N. 54 W., and Observatory Point [Carr Point] S. 80 W." On May 2 Vancouver named this bay Port Discovery after his ship.

49. *Admiralty Inlet, 1790-1792.* This inlet was first sighted by Juan Carrasco of Quimper's 1790 expedition and thought by him to be a small bay. It was therefore named "Ensenada de Caamaño" after Jacinto Caamaño, a contemporary Spanish naval officer. In 1791 Jose Maria Narvaez, the second officer in command of the Eliza expedition, sighted this inlet, and Eliza named it "Ensenada de Boca de Caamaño." On May 8, 1792, a small boat party consisting of Vancouver, Menzies, Johnstone, and Puget were the first white men to enter the inlet. On June 2, 1792, Vancouver named it Admiralty Inlet in honor of the Board of Admiralty which governed the British navy.

Vancouver's Eighteen Anchorages in Puget Sound from Cape Flattery to Birch Bay

1. (a) Entrance of strait S. 88 W. (Puget and Baker)
   (b) Northern shore of the strait N. 68 W. (Vancouver, Puget, and Baker)
   (c) Nearest point of straits distance 3 leagues bore N. 15 W. (Vancouver)
   (d) Straits northern shore N. 73 E. (Vancouver)
   (e) Straits southern shore E. (Vancouver)
   (f) Straits southern shore N. 88 E. (Vancouver)
2. (a) Bluff cliff 3 miles distant bore S. 60 W. (Vancouver)
   (b) Low sandy point 3 miles distant bore N. 41 W. (Vancouver and Swaine)

(c) West point of apparent island N. 87 E. (Vancouver and Puget)
(d) South point of an inlet S. 85 E. (Vancouver and Puget)

3. (a) I saw no situation more eligible than that in which the vessels rode off the first sandy point on the western shore about 4½ miles within the entrance (Vancouver)
   (b) Observatory Point S. 80 W. (Puget)
   (c) East Entrance point N. 54 W. (Puget)
4. (a) Anchored in 18 fathoms ½ mile from eastern shore; Marrowstone point bearing by compass N. 56 W. (Vancouver)
   (b) The northeast point of Oak Cove S. 48 W. (Vancouver)
5. (a) At ½ past 6 came to with the best bower in 35 fathoms water on the western shore at the entrance of a small opening apparently leading to a harbour (Baker)
   (b-b) The above island lying before the branch leading to the southwestward, bore from S. 36 E. to South, about ½ a league distant (Vancouver)
   (c) The nearest opposite shore of the main inlet N. 52 E. about a league distant (Vancouver)
   (d) The appearance of a small inlet or cove west about the same distance (½ league) (Vancouver)
6. At ½ past 8 weighed and shifted our berth into a more convenient situation for wooding, watering, and we anchored in 40 fathoms near a point on which was a small village of Indians (Baker)

   Our situation being somewhat incommoded by the meeting of different tides, we moved nearer in, and anchored in the same depth and on the same bottom as before, very conveniently to the shore (Vancouver)

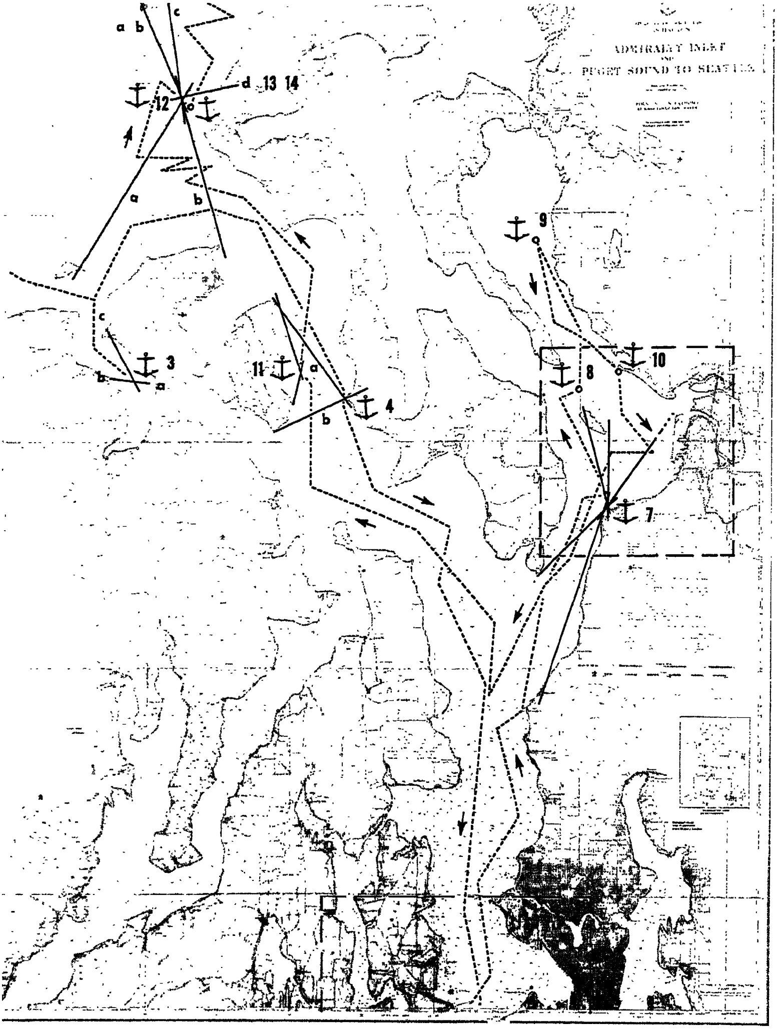
   The village point bore by compass N. 4 E. (Vancouver)
7. (a) A large bay went off to the northward (Menzies)
   (b-b) We found ourselves about a cable's length from the shore in a capacious sound whose entrance bore by compass from S. 2 W. to S. 30 W. about 6 miles from us (Vancouver)
   (c-c) To the north was a high round island bearing from N. 18 W. to N. 33 W. (Vancouver)
8. Came too near an island in mid-channel for the night (Menzies)

   Came too with the small Bower in 20 fths. in a narrow branch (Puget)

   By 11 at night we had proceeded only 5 mi. Here we were obliged to anchor in 20 fths., nearly ½ way between the island and the point that divides the 2 openings which are about a

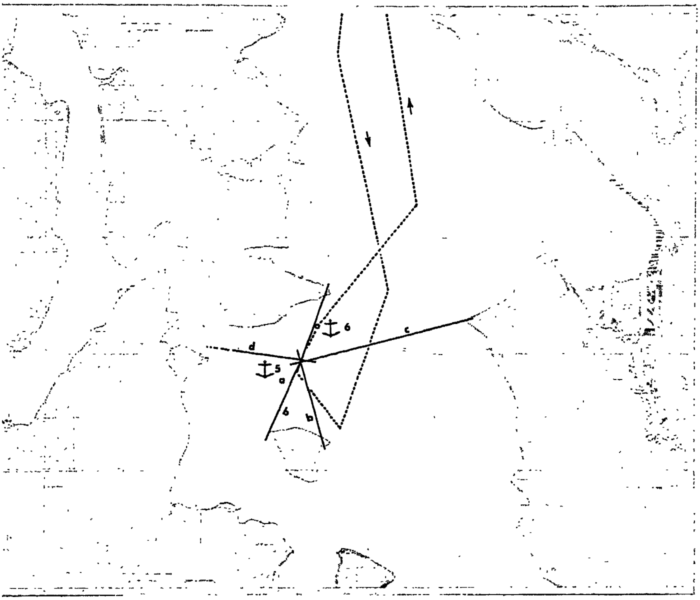
9. At ½ past 2 came too with the Bower in 20 fths. (Puget and Swaine)

Anchored 1 mi. from the Chatham in 20 fathoms about ½ mile from the eastern shore which was the nearest land (Vancouver)



(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6450)

No. 9. Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound to Seattle

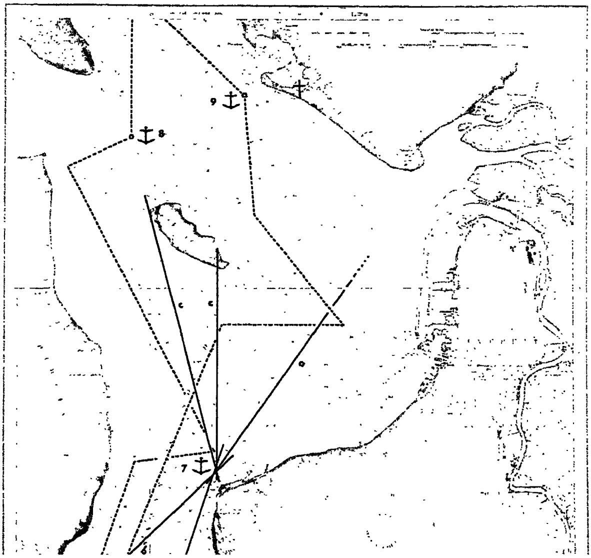


(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6446)

No. 10. Puget Sound: Seattle to Bremerton

No. 11. Everett Harbor and Approaches

(U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart 6448)



10. Possession taken of the country

Anchored near the eastern shore abreast of a small bay formed between 2 steep sandy bluffs (Menzies)

We directed our route back the way we had come, and it was not until 3 o'clock that we reached the sound, where we again anchored in 50 fths., ¼ mi. from the eastern shore, & about six times that distance (1½ mi.), to the eastward of the arm we had quitted. Here our position was before a small bay into which flowed two excellent streams (Vancouver)

11. We anchored in 22 fathoms ½ mi. from the western shore of Admiralty Inlet about ½ way between Oak Cove and Marrowstone pt. (Vancouver)

12. Low sandy island N. 40 W. (Vancouver)

Sandy isl. 4-5 mi. dist. northward (Menzies)

Low sandy isl. N. 26 W. (Vancouver)

Nearest shore N. 60 E. 2 mi. dist. (Puget)

13 and
14. (a) East point of Protection Isl. S. 15 W. (Vancouver)
    (b) West point Admiralty Inlet S. 35 E. (Vancouver)
    (c) We then weighed, but with so little wind that after having drifted to the southward of our former station, we were obliged again to anchor until six the next morning. Thursday the 7th, when we made an attempt to proceed, but were soon again compelled to become stationary near our last situation (Vancouver)

15. (a) Low sandy island S. (Vancouver)
    (b) South part of westernmost shore S. 37 W. about 2 mi. dist. (Vancouver)
    (c) Unsafe, cluster of small rocks bore N. 15 W. about 2½ miles dist. (Vancouver)
    (d) Opening on the continental shore with some small rocky islets before its entrance, that appeared very narrow bore, at the dist. of 5 miles S. 87 E. (Vancouver)
    (e) Point Partridge S. 21 E. (Vancouver)

16. (a) Small isl. ¾ mi. dist. (Vancouver)
    (b) South pt. bore by compass S. 40 E. (Vancouver)

17. (a-a) The points of the bay bore by compass S. 32 W. and N. 72 W. (Vancouver)
    (b) The westernmost part of that which we considered to be the mainland west, about three leagues distant (Vancouver)

18. The vessels were removed the next morning about 1 mi. further up the bay to the N.E. (Menzies, Baker, and Vancouver)

Appendix I

The Ships that Explored the Coast of Washington, 1775-92[1]:

NAME OF SHIP	COMMANDER	DATE	TYPE OF VESSEL
Santiago	Bruno de Hezeta	1775	Frigate
Sonora	Bodega y Quadra	1775	Schooner
Princesa Real[2]	Manuel Quimper	1790	Sloop
San Carlos	Francisco de Eliza	1791	Packetboat
Santa Saturnina	José Maria Narvaez & Juan Carrasco	1791	Schooner
Sutil	Dionisio Galiano	1792	Schooner
Mexicana	Cayetano Valdés	1792	Schooner
Discovery	George Vancouver	1792	Sloop-of-War
Chatham	William Broughton	1792	Armed Tender

Dimensions and Specifications

The author has been unable to find any details of the construction of the *Santiago.* None of the atlases which accompany the books of voyages have shown any drawings or pictorial representations of the *Sonora, Princess Royal, San Carlos, Santa Saturnina,* or *Santiago.* The few details which are available give only the basic description of the type of vessel or its measurements. Those engravings that were made of the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* are not sufficient to give any idea of the true proportions of the vessels. With the exception of the *Santiago,* however, some details of dimensions have been found in one or another of the contemporary journals. It is to be regretted that no authentic pictures exist to give the reader an idea of how these eighteenth-century vessels looked. The best representation yet made of the *Discovery* was done by Hewitt Jackson and was published in conjunction with the article on Vancouver's anchorages published in the July 1953 issue of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

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[1] Not included are those vessels which engaged in the fur trade.

[2] This vessel was originally under the command of Captain Hudson, who was associated with Captain James Colnett in a fur-trading expedition, and was named the *Princess Royal.*

Sonora.—The 1775 expedition of Hezeta afforded the following description of the schooner *Sonora*, which appears in the journal of Antonio Mourelle. "The ships prepared for this purpose were a frigate and schooner, the latter being 36 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 8 deep."[3] No other mention is made of either vessel in relation to its measurements. However, from a sketch taken from *The Shipbuilders Assistant* (*ca.* 1775), an excellent hull plan is given which is characteristic of this era. These sketches were loaned to the author through the courtesy of Carl Nordstrom, a naval architect. Also one of the plates of the Macpherson collections[4] shows a full-rigged Spanish ship "The Hermione Captured by the Active and Favourite—1762."

Princesa Real.—Wagner's description of the *Princesa Real* reads as follows: "She was forty-three feet long on the keel, sixteen on the beam and drew eight feet of water aft and seven and one-half forward. She was sloop-rigged, of sixty-five tons burden, and carried four one-pound cannon and eight swivel guns."[5]

San Carlos and *Santa Saturnina*.—From Wagner's translation of Eliza's account of his voyage, we have our only description of the two ships of the Eliza expedition of 1791. The translation reads: "Extract of the voyage, explorations and discoveries made under an order of His Excellency, the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, viceroy of New Spain, communicated by the captain of the royal fleet, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commandant of the department of San Blas, on the north coast of the Californias from 48°26′ to 49°50′ N. with the packetboat San Carlos, carrying sixteen reinforced cannon of four pounds, thirty-nine codos[6] long on the keel, twelve beam, and fourteen feet draft aft and fifteen forward, and the schooner Santa Saturnina alias La Orcasitas, constructed in Nutca, carrying four three-pound cannon and eighteen codos long on the keel, six and a half beam, with a draft five and a half feet aft and four feet at the bow."[7]

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[3] In Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies* (London, 1781), p. 473.

[4] The Macpherson Collection of Maritime Prints by M. S. Robinson (New York, 1950).

[5] Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, 1933), p. 15.

[6] "It may therefore be assumed that this codo was equivalent to about two Spanish feet. It must not be forgotten that the Spanish foot was one-third of a vara, and consequently only eleven English inches long." *Ibid.*

Sutil and *Mexicana.*—Chapter I of Jane's translation of *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast* gives a good description of the measurements of both the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana.*

Schooner *Sutil* Schooner *Mexicana*

Dimensions and Armament of Each Vessel

	Feet	Inches
Keel	46	10
Length over all	50	3
Beam	13	10
Draught astern	6	2
Draught forward	5	8

A swivel-gun mounted on a trestle
Four small pieces of ordnance
Eighteen muskets
Twenty-four pistols
Eighteen sabers[8]

Discovery.—The *Discovery,* commanded by Vancouver, was thoroughly studied by Hewitt Jackson, and his conception of the ship appears on page 3. "Since contemporary drawings gave no adequate view of the vessel, Jackson decided to assemble all the descriptive details he could find and reconstruct the ship in scale drawings and sketches. The illustration shown is the result of more than four hundred hours spent at the drawing board and in research. Based upon information secured from several earlier drawings, from contemporary works on marine architecture and ship rigging, and from specifications secured from the British Admiralty records, it is probably the most complete and accurate sketch of the *Discovery* in existence. The original drawing is in the possession of the Puget Sound Maritime Historical Society, and is currently on display in the Seattle Museum of History and Industry."[9]

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[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast of America, Being the Narrative of the Voyage Made in the Year 1792 by the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana to Explore the Strait of Fuca,* translated from the Spanish by Cecil Jane (London, 1930), p. 9.

[9] *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XLIV (July 1953).

published in conjunction with the article on Vancouver's anchorages published in the July 1953 issue of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly.*

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[9] *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XLIV (July 1953).

Dimensions and Specifications of the *Discovery*

Completed 1789 at the Yard of Ramdall and Brant on the Thames.

Sloop, length—99 feet 2 inches between stem head and rudder post. The false stem and cutwater forward, and the transom and galleries aft extend beyond this measure.

Keel for tonnage—77 feet 9⅝ inches.

Breadth to 3 inch plank (inside)—28 feet 3¼ inches.

Height of wing transom—17 feet.

Depth of hold—12 feet 4 inches.

Height between decks—6 feet 2 inches.

Same in Roundhouse. Forward—6 feet 5 inches
Aft—6 feet 7 inches

Burden—330 65/94 tons (Designer)
337 tons (Admiralty)
340 tons (Vancouver)

"Copper fastened, sheathed with plank and coppered over"

Armament—10 four pounders

Armament—10 swivels

Cross sections of the hull and a shipwright's sketch from the Makers Yard of Ramdall and Brant on the Thames in 1789 are shown in a plate labeled "Sheer Draught of Discovery" on page 188 of *Vancouver: A Life*, by Godwin.

Chatham.—From Vancouver's journal comes a brief description of the armed tender *Chatham*. From his introduction we learn that "the Chatham armed tender, of 135 tons burthen, built at Dover, was sheathed with copper and mounted four three-pounders and six swivels."

Appendix II

Approximate Mean Magnetic Declination for Puget Sound Area.*

Locality	Year	Declination
Neah Bay	1792	18°01′ East
	1945	23°43′
	1952	23°22′
Dungeness Spit	1792	18°01′ East
	1945	23°23′
	1952	23°01′
Discovery Bay	1792	18°04′ East
	1945	23°19′
	1952	22°57′
Port Townsend	1792	18°07′ East
	1945	23°22′
	1952	23°00′
Restoration Point	1792	17°45′ East
	1945	23°52′
	1952	22°30′
Everett	1792	17°57′ East
	1945	23°03′
	1952	22°41′
Cypress Island	1792	18°21′ East
	1945	23°38′
	1952	23°16′
Birch Bay	1792	18°41′ East
	1945	24°02′
	1952	23°38′

*Department of Commerce, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Footnotes

CHAPTER I

1. Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston, 1950), p. 9.

2. Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia,* Book I.

3. Cf. James T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (New York, 1939), Chap. 25.

4. James Westfall Thompson, *History of Historical Writing* (New York, 1942), I, 201.

CHAPTER II

1. Gomes Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea,* Hakluyt Society (London, 1896-99), 2 vols.

2. Strabo, *Geography,* edited by H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (1923-32), 8 vols.

3. G. P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542,* Annual Report of American Ethnology for 1892-93 (Washington, 1896), Part I, pp. 329-613.

4. Henry R. Wagner, *The Discovery of New Spain in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva,* The Cortes Society (Pasadena, Calif., 1942).

5. Henry R. Wagner, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, Discoverer of the Coast of California,* California Historical Society (San Francisco, 1941).

6. *Idem.*

7. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *The World Encompassed and Analogous Contemporary Documents Concerning Sir Francis Drake's Circumnavigation of the World* (London, 1926).

8. *Ibid.*

9. Robert B. Whitebrook, "Lost Historical Evidence," *Puget Soundings,* May 1956.

10. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of North America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley, 1937), p. 111.

11. Father Antonio de la Ascension's account of the Voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the North West Coast of America,* California Historical Society (San Francisco, 1929), p. 255.

12. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California, 1542-1800* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 112.

CHAPTER III

1. F. A. Golder, *Russian Expansion in the Pacific, 1641-1850* (Cleveland, 1914), pp. 161-62.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 249.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Alaska* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 483.

4. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of North America to the Year 1800,* p. 172: "In the year 1772 the Spanish Minister to Russia, the Conde de Lacey, became very much alarmed at the movements of the Russians on the northwest coast. He wrote several letters home on the subject and in May, 1773, sent a printed Russian map. The Madrid government wrote to the Viceroy in New Spain, sending copies of some of the letters and advising him to be on the lookout, and on April 11, 1773, issued orders to him for an exploring expedition to the North."

5. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Introduction to the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana,* trans. G. F. Barwick (Victoria, 1912), p. xci.

6. *Ibid.,* p. cvii.

7. Captain James Cook, *Voyages to the North Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), p. 288.

8. King's Continuation of Cook's *Voyages,* III, 437.

9. *Ibid.,* p. 430.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 437.

11. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1870), p. 172.

12. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), pp. 86-88.

13. James Strange, *Journal and Narrative* (Madras, 1929).

14. Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

17. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Introduction to the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*, p. xcvi.

18. Charles Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 579-99.

19. Hubert Hall, *Society of the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1886).

20. *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight,* in his *Voyage into the South Sea* (London, 1622).

21. *Idem.*

22. Charles Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain,* pp. 579-99.

23. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* (London, 1798), III, 401.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

25. *Idem.*

26. *Idem.*

27. *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast,* Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1941), p. 369.

28. The *Northwest America* was the first ship to be constructed on the Pacific Northwest coast. Captain John Meares was given a plot of ground by Maquina, the Indian chief at Nootka, on which the small vessel was built. An engraving showing the launching of this ship, which was witnessed by the American Robert Gray, is shown in Meares's *Voyages*. Built with the aid of carpenters brought over from China, the little schooner was launched on September 20, 1789.

29. John Meares, *Voyages in 1788 and 1789 from China to the North West Coast* (London, 1790), Appendix I. See also William Ray Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy,* Annual Report of the American Historical Association (1904).

In spite of the swashbuckling life and dubious character of Captain John Meares, his name has a permanent place in the history of the Pacific Northwest. His book of voyages, his Memorial, and his controversy with Captain George Dixon entitle him to be worthy of the boast of Heinrich Heine: "When the greatest names are mentioned, Then mine is mentioned too."

30. Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World . . . in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795 in the Discovery Sloop of War and Armed Tender Chatham* (London, 1798), 3 vols. and atlas.

31. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* I, 238.

32. The "Instruccion Reservada" of the Viceroy Conde de Revilla-Gigedo of New Spain (1794).

33. *Idem.*

34. This name was corrupted by Vancouver and should be called Guemes.

35. Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo Informe 12 de Abril 1793-134-5. In Bustamante, suplemento III, Jalapa, 1870.

36. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Introduction to the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana,* p. cxlvi.

37. W. R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy,* p. 394.

38. *Ibid.,* p. 432.

39. *Idem.*

40. *Ibid.,* p. 461.

41. *Idem.*

42. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska,* p. 267.

43. George Vancouver, *Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean,* III, 199.

44. *Ibid.,* p. 200.

45. *Voyages of the Columbia,* p. 53.

46. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska,* p. 251.

47. *Ibid.,* p. 253.

48. S. E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1941), p. 261.

49. William Sturgis, *Memoir,* edited by Loring, Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, VII (1863-64), p. 6.

S. E. Morison gives some interesting figures regarding the economic importance of the fur trade in his book, *The Maritime*

History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860, p. 67: "The value of imports at Canton on American vessels rose to over five million dollars in 1805-06; of this over one million was accounted for by 17,445 sea otter, 140,297 seal, and 34,460 beaver-skins, and 16,000 piculs of sandalwood."

50. Robert Greenhow, *Memoir Historical and Political* (Washington, 1840), p. 143.

51. Boit's Log, *Voyages of the Columbia*, p. 377.

52. Nicholas Monsarrat, *The Cruel Sea* (New York, 1941).

53. Richard Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (Boston, 1909), p. 30.

CHAPTER IV

1. The first five journals are in the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Historical Section, Vol. 324; that of Fray Sierra was translated in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (September 1930).

2. Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle, "Carta reducida de las costas y mares septentrionales —hizieron el año de 1775," Archivo General, Seville (No. 309 of Torres Lanzas, Carpeta de Mapas No. 21). A photostat of this chart is in the Pomona College Library, Claremont, California.

Bruno de Hezeta, "Carta reducida de las costas y mares septentrionales . . . hizieron el año de 1775," Archivo General, Seville (No. 307 of Torres Lanzas, Carpeta de Mapas No. 15 and No. 308 of Torres Lanzas, Carpeta de Mapas No. 7). Photostats of both these charts are at Pomona College.

3. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Introduction to the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*, p. xcviii.

4. Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies* (London, 1781). Here is the only tabulation of latitudes translated into English. It follows the account of the voyage of the *Sonora* which bears the title *Journal of a Voyage in 1775*.

5. Fray Benito de la Sierra, "Account of the Hezeta Expedition to the Northwest Coast in 1775," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (September 1930), 227.

6. George Davidson, *Pacific Coast Pilot* (Washington: G.P.O., 1889), pp. 491-92.

7. The Quinault River is ½ mile south of Cape Elizabeth, and the Moclips River is 3½ miles south of Point Grenville.

8. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley, 1937), p. 176.

9. Robert Greenhow, *History of Oregon and Washington* (New York, 1845).

10. George W. Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1947).

11. Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington* (New York, 1909).

12. The latitude by observation tabulated by Mourelle was 47° 20′, which is only 45″ greater than the actual location of Point Grenville (47° 19′ 15″).

13. This is one of the most important charts pertaining to the discovery of the Pacific Northwest.

14. Barrington, *Miscellanies*, p. 469.

15. J. F. G. La Perouse, *A Voyage Round the World Performed in the Years 1785-1788 by the "Boussole" and "Astrolabe"* (London, 1799).

16. "Carta general de quanto asta hoy se ha descubierto y examinado por los Españoles en la Costa Septentrional de California, formada . . . por de Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra &c. Año de 1791," Museo Naval, Madrid. A photostatic copy is at Pomona College, Claremont, California.

17. "Carta reducida de la costa septentrional de California desde el Puerto de Acapulco hasta la Isla de Unalasca," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

18. "Plano reducida que comprende parte de la costa septentrional de California desde los 47 grados de latitud Norte hasta los 50 . . . Lopez de Haro 1792," Museo Naval, Madrid. Copy at Pomona and in Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, Calif., 1933).

19. "Carta esférica que representa la costa comprehendida entre la Punta de Tutusi meridional de la boca sur de Fuca y el Puerto de San Francisco, reconocida por el piloto Don Juan Martinez y Zayas sobre la goleta Mexicana este presente año de 1793," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Copy at Pomona College and in Wagner's *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800.*

20. In 1787 Captain Charles William Barkley in command of the ship *Imperial Eagle*, carrying the Austrian colors, discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and also lost a boat's crew off the Quillayute or the Hoh River. John T. Walbran, "British Columbia Coast Names, 1592-1906," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI (January 1942), 43-44.

21. Edmond S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York, 1909), p. 23; *Origin of Washington Geographic Names* (Seattle, 1923), p. 114.

CHAPTER V

1. This was formerly the British vessel *Princess Royal*, commanded by Captain Hudson, which was seized by Esteban Martinez on July 14, 1789, at Nootka Sound. The vessel was part of an English fur-trading expedition led by Captain James Colnett, who commanded the *Argonaut*. Due to this and other ship seizures by Martinez, the Spanish commandant at Nootka, a war was nearly precipitated between England and Spain. This conflict was referred to as the Nootka Sound Controversy. The sloop *Princess Royal* was about 43 feet long with an 8-foot draft and a 16-foot beam. She displaced around 65 tons and carried 4 one-pound cannon and 8 swivel guns.

2. Manuel Quimper's letter to the viceroy with an account of his expedition, San Blas, November 13, 1790, Mexico, Archivo General, Historia 68. Translation in Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, p. 77.

3. Possession of Sooke Inlet was taken for Spain on June 23. Quimper named it "Puerto de Revilla Gigedo" after the then viceroy of Spain.

4. Diary of Quimper's Voyage, Archivo General, Mexico, Historia 68. Translation in Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, p. 105.

5. *Idem.* This northwest inlet was Haro Strait. Only Hood Canal trends toward the southwest, but as it is not on the south coast of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Indians in all probability referred to Admiralty Inlet.

6. *Idem.*

7. Quimper first identified the present Observatory Point as "Salvi," and took an unmistakable bearing on it when anchored

in Freshwater Bay. However, from his anchorages off the Pysht River and in Clallam Bay, the sight was taken on the present Striped Peak, although Quimper referred to it as "Salvi." If the reader examines the chart, he will see the proximity of one landmark with the other.

8. Named Isla de Carrasco, after the second pilot of the expedition.

9. Named Fidalgo, in honor of Salvador Fidalgo, then dispatched on a voyage of exploration to Alaska by Eliza, the commandant at Nootka.

10. Named Flon, after Colonel Manuel de Flon, governor of Puebla.

11. Quimper shortened the name in his diary, for on the Plano of 1790, drawn by Lopez de Haro, the bay is called "Puerto de la Bodega y Quadra" in honor of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, an officer in the Spanish navy who was the commandant of the department of San Blas in New Spain.

12. The small bight under Pillar Point.

13. This is probably Striped Peak and not the Observatory Point bearing which Quimper made when anchored in Freshwater Bay. Actually, Striped Peak is bounded on the east by Observatory Point and on the west by Tongue Point.

14. This is Port San Juan, at the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca at the north side of the strait on Vancouver Island.

15. This point of the island bears NNE from the spot where possession was taken. This is one of the few parts of Quimper's record which is garbled.

16. Manuel Nuñez Gaona was a rear admiral in the Spanish navy. The bottle of possession, if it still exists, is probably under one of the shacks in the Indian village.

17. The present Koitlah Point.

18. Letter of Quimper to the viceroy with an account of his expedition, San Blas, November 13, 1790. Translation in Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.*

19. See the accompanying chart #6300, Georgia Strait and Strait of Juan de Fuca.

20. This was named by Quimper on July 5, 1790, "Canal de Fidalgo." When Vancouver named the Gulf of Georgia, he trans-

ferred part of the Spanish name given to it by Eliza in 1791—"Rosario"—its present position on the chart.

21. Pantoja called it "El Gran Canal de Nuestra Señora de Rosario la Marinera," after the religious image in Seville, Spain.

22. Francisco Eliza, "Extracto de la navegacion . . . en el año de 1791," Archivo General, Mexico, Historia 69. Copy in Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca,* p. 152.

23. On July 25 Narvaez was relieved of command of the *Santa Saturnina* and transferred to the *San Carlos* to aid Eliza in drawing the charts. Carrasco was then given command of the schooner *Santa Saturnina.*

24. Port Angeles appears for the first time as an inset sketch on the Carta que Comprehende of the Eliza Expedition.

25. From Wagner's *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca,* p. 238. The eight places referred to in the first sentence are now respectively called Discovery Bay, Georgia Strait, Admiralty Inlet, Deception Pass, Bellingham Bay, Burrard Inlet, Howe Sound, and Jervis Inlet. The Boca de Ezeta was the mouth of the Columbia River, and of course, if Galiano and Valdes believed that the Boca de Caamaño (Admiralty Inlet) led in this direction, there was little reason for them to pursue this course, which led back to the ocean and away from a Northwest Passage.

CHAPTER VI

1. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commander of the schooner *Sonora,* of the Hezeta Expedition, on July 14, 1775, named the island "Isla de Dolores," because of an Indian massacre of his boat's crew near that point. In 1787 Captain C. W. Barkley of the *Imperial Eagle* had a boat's crew massacred when they put ashore at a river on the mainland opposite the island. He called the river (possibly the Hoh River) Destruction River and may also have named Destruction Island. On April 28, 1792, Vancouver sighted the island and gave it the name Destruction Island, stating in his Journal: "Noon brought us in sight of land, which was considered to be that named by Mr. Barclay, Destruction Island."

2. Quotations from Vancouver are taken from Captain George Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World . . . in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795 in the Discovery Sloop of War and Armed Tender Chat-*

ham, 3 vols. and atlas (London, 1798). References to this source, and to those cited below, may be confirmed readily by date.

3. C. F. Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792*, Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. V (Victoria, B.C., 1923).

4. "Log of His Majesty's Ship Discovery from 22nd December 1790 to 27 November 1792. Kept by Joseph Baker, 3rd Lieutenant," MS in British Public Record Office, microfilm copy in University of Washington Library.

5. The *Chatham's* voyage northward is reported in J. Neilson Barry, ed., "Broughton's Log of a Reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands in 1792," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1930), 55-60.

6. Excerpt from a letter to the author, Feb. 17, 1953.

7. Clarence B. Bagley, *Indian Myths of the Northwest* (Seattle, 1930), pp. 102-3.

8. Edmond S. Meany, ed., "A New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V (1924), 217. This journal appears serially in issues of the *Quarterly* from April 1914, through January 1915.

9. Bern Anderson, ed., "The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's Journal of the Exploration of Puget Sound, May 7-June 11, 1792," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXX (1939), 211-12.

10. Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal*, p. 103.

CHAPTER VII

1. Captain A. T. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston, 1890).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

3. Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* (San Francisco, 1926), p. 508.

4. Lady Elliott-Drake, *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1911).

5. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), III, 632-34.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 644-45.

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